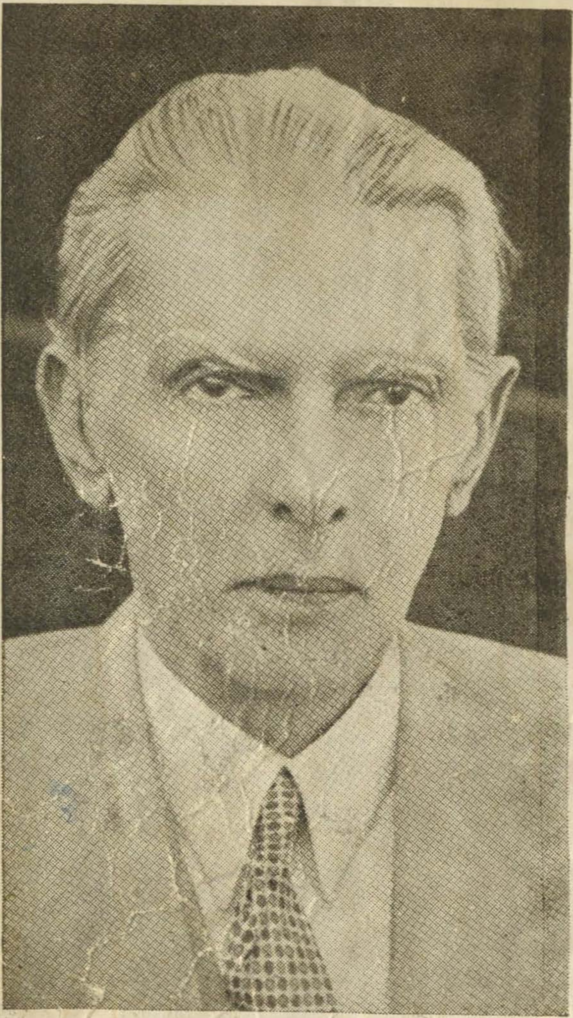


Qaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah
President, All-India Muslim League

THIRTYFIRST SESSION

OF THE

All-India Muslim League

(KARACHI)

DEC. 1943

Edited by

ABDUL HAMID

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CONTENTS

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The publication of the Pakistan series was commenced last year with the intention that the complete proceedings and deliberations of the leading and largest political body of Indian Mussalmans—the All-India Muslim League—may be faithfully recorded every year in convenient book form to enable the student of Indian Muslim Politics to study the progress from year to year from authorised documents so *that he might know*, how ultimately PAKISTAN was achieved.

The first number of the series was published last year, giving full details of the 30th. Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League, held at Delhi, in April, 1943. The effort was appreciated, by the public, and the publishers are encouraged to carry on the series.

It will be noticed, we hope, that the second number of the series is a great improvement upon the first, and illustrations have been added inspite of the paper famine, due to war. The presidential address of the Qaid-e-Azam, delivered at the 31st. Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League, held at Karachi, in December, 1943 is reported verbatim, and other speeches made at the session have been given at great length—in many instances al-

most verbatim. Speeches delivered in Urdu are given in free English renderings, resolutions apopted at the session are reproduced in full.

Another new feature of the present number is the addition of proceedings of all the subsidiary bodies and associations, which held their annual sessions in the League Pandal.

A perusal of this volume will give the reader a clear idea of where Muslim India stands politically, and this is exactly the aim of the publication of this series. It is hoped that it will win the appreciation of the Muslim public and will encourage us to produce the next number of the series in a *still more improved* form.

The publishers have to thank Messrs. Bansi Dhar Kapur & Sons of Lahore for supplying paper for this book, though in driblets, at control rate.

Lahore
August, 1944

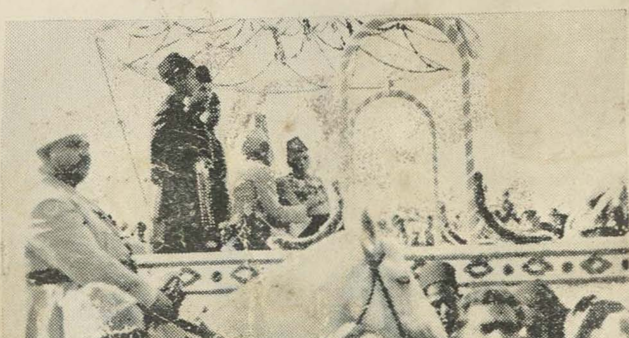
PART I

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE DELIBRATIONS



FLAG HOISTING

This picture shows the Qaid-e Azam performing the Flag Hoisting ceremony at the Haroonabad Entrance Gate



Presidential Procession

This photo shows Mr. M A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, driving along the four mile rout of the Presidential procession. Mr. G. M. Syed, Chairman of the Reception Committee, is seen talking to him.

Photo by Mansur Art Studio, Allahabad

THE PROCESSION

The presidential procession, which started from a spot only a stone's throw from where Mr. Jinnah spent his early boyhood, was acclaimed as a spontaneous demonstration of popularity and enthusiasm such as kings might envy. It was a scene, the grandeur of which has never been equalled in Karachi before. The whole function passed off with clock work precision and an impressive orderliness.

The whole of the four-mile route was thronged with people of all communities. Every one not engaged in essential work seemed to have left his job to witness the unforgettable scene. Balconies, rooftops, railings and in fact every vantage point along the route was packed with people and both sides of the processsion were lined with spectators. Altogether over two lakhs of people must have witnessed it.

The whole of Karachi turned out to welcome the League President when the latter was taken out in procession. The whole route from Lea Market via Napier and Bunder Roads upto Bab-ul-Islam, the main gate Harunabad, was beflagged and lined on either side by spectators eight to nine deep. The Napier Road right upto its junction with

Bunder Road specially was very tastefully decorated with buntings and about a dozen arches. The procession was led by a rider on horseback with a large League flag. He was followed by formations of National Guards in grey uniforms. National Guards, numbering nearly 2,000 and representing every province of India and every district of Sind, were followed by representatives of the Muslim Students' Federation, various *anjumans* and more than 50 Sindhi horsemen. After them came camels with two men in Sindhi dress on each. Another 50 camels with riders in Arab dress lent a picturesque touch to the whole procession. Akharas of Muslim physical culturists, Muslim students and boy scouts came next.

A number of Keamari fishermen in 50 mule-drawn carts reminded the spectators of the fact that not very long ago Karachi was a small fishermen's village. The large Bohra band followed by more than 100 Bori wearing beautiful golden turbans was another highlight of the day's pageant.

Mr. JINNAH'S CARRIAGE

Mr. Jinnah's carriage was preceded by a fleet of about 100 cars carrying the Premiers and Ministers of provinces and presidents and other office-bearers of the Provincial Muslim Leagues. The President's carriage drawn by

31 camels, the riders of which were dressed in Arab costumes, came last.

Fifty camels and an equal number of caparisoned horses all riden by *hajis* in Arab costumes followed. Shouts of *Allah-o-Akbar*, "Pakistan Zindabad" and "Jinnah Zindabad" rent the air as Mr. Jinnah's carriage came into view. The carriage decorated to resemble a boat was drawn by 31 camels—this figure symbolising the 31st session of the All-India Muslim League.

The President, dressed in a Sherwani and wearing a black-cap, was seated in a chair with two body guards with drawn swords standing behind him. To his right sat Mr. G.M. Syed, Chairman of the Reception Committee, while Mr. Yusuf Haroon, General Secretary, of the committee, sat in front. On either side of Mr. Jinnah were two special body guards, namely Nawab Siddique Ali Khan and Haji Abdul Karim. The crowd cheered repeatedly as the procession halted and Mr. Jinnah acknowledged the cheers.

When the presidential carriage halted near the office of the local Communist Party on Bunder Road, he was greeted by communist workers with shouts of "Congress-League 'Ek Ho'" (Congress-League should unite), "Hindu-Muslim 'Ek Ho'" (Hindu-Muslim should unite), "Demand the release of Congress leaders," "Fight the profiteers and hoarders."

At the office of the Communist Party and the Trade Union Congress, League and Congress Flags were displayed along with the Red Flag.

Balconies, housetops and other points of vantage all along the long route were occupied by spectators and even the verandahs of the Municipal office were full to capacity with women come specially to watch the procession. As Mr. Jinnah's carriage came into view crowds broke into thunderous cheers and Mr. Jinnah every now and then bowed acknowledgement. Shouts of "Allah-o-Akbar" and "Pakistan Zindabad" were heard all along the way.

While the leader of the procession had reached Harunabad the tail end was still somewhere near the Municipal office. The President reached Bab-ul-Islam at about 7 p.m. and the volunteers and police had great difficulty to keep back the uncontrolable crowds. Mr. Jinnah was greeted with shouts of "Qaid-e-Azam Zindabad" and "Islam Zindabad." There was pin-drop silence when after getting down the carriage he appeared over Bab-ul-Islam to hoist the League flag. The flag hoisting was preceded by recitations from the Quran by Mr. Sarwar Shah Gilani.

At some points of the route of the procession, people from the balconies of houses showered silver coins on Mr. Jinnah, and a Muslim association presented a purse to him.

The procession terminated at "Harunabad" at 7-30 p.m. and Mr. Jinnah unfurled the League Flag on the main gate to the accompaniment of the firing of 31 rockets.

FLAG HOISTING

"It was a great show," said Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, Premier of the Punjab. Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, Frontier Premier, paid a similar tribute to the organisational success of the procession.

YUSUF HAROON CONGRATULATED

Mr. Yusuf Abdullah Haroon, who had taken a leading part in the procession arrangements, was this evening heartily congratulated by everybody including Mr. M.A. Jinnah. The latter addressing him said: "You are to-day the happiest man in Karachi." Mr. Haroon felt amply rewarded for all the pains he had taken to make the League session a success.

"Sind is the gateway of Pakistan and Karachi holds the key to that gate," declared Mr. M.A. Jinnah, hoisting the League flag.

"I thank the people of Sind for the wonderful reception they have accorded me, by so doing they have honoured the Muslim nation of India. "This procession," he said, "is a symbol of the unity and strength of the Muslims of

this country and if you remain united as you are there is no power on earth which can prevent you from achieving the goal of Pakistan."

"Pakistan, would include, besides Sind, Baluchistan, the North-Western Frontier Province and the Punjab and in that Pakistan Karachi and Sind would play a major role. It is the proudest day in my life because I have received such a reception at Karachi which is my birthplace.

It was a fitting tribute the city could pay to the representatives of the Muslim nation."

SESSION OPENS

The 31st session of the All-India Muslim League commenced amidst scenes of great enthusiasm. Very large number of delegates had come and almost 10,000 visitors were present at the start. The whole *pandal* was brilliantly illuminated. On the dais were seated the leading personalities of the Muslim League including three League Premiers, namely Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana and Sardar Aurangzeb Khan. At the outset Mr. Yusuf Haroon, General Secretary of the Reception Committee, introduced some of the most prominent delegates. Among the delegates present were:

Syed Abdul Rauf President C. P. Provincial Muslim League, Hon'ble Abdul Matin Chaudhri Minister of Assam, Saith Abdul Sattar, M. L. A., Member All India Muslim League Working Committee, Hon'ble Mr. Tamiz-ud-Din, Education Minister, Bengal, Hon'ble Mr. Abdul Rab Nishtar, Minister, N.-W. F. P., Mohamed Bahadur Khan, (formerly Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang), President All-India States Muslim League, Pir Sahib of Bharchundi, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, M. L. A., General Secretary, All-India Muslim League.

Hon'ble Moazam-ud-Din, Minister of Bengal, Nawab of Mamdot, President, Punjab Provincial Muslim League, &c.

Mr. Jinnah entered the Pandal at 9-45 p.m. accompanied by Miss Jinnah, Mr. G. M. Syed, Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. M. H. Gazder and a body guard. He was greeted with loud shouts of "Qaide-e-Azam Zindabad", "Pakistan Zindabad" and "Conqueror of Congress Zindabab."

Complete silence prevailed in the huge pandal, when Mr. Jinnah occupied the beautiful silver chair sent specially for the occasion by the Sardar of Domkis from Jacobabad.

The proceedings commenced with the recitation from the Quran. Mr. Anwar Qureshi, the well-known Urdu poet, recited the thrilling League *tarana* holding the audience spelling bound for 15 minutes.

چین و عرب ہمارا ہندوستان ہمارا
مسلم ہیں ہم وطن ہیں سارا جہان ہمارا
توحید کی امانت سینوں میں ہے ہمارے
آسان نہیں مٹانا نام و نشان ہمارا
دنیا کے بت کدوں میں پہلا وہ گھر خدا کا
ہم اس کے پاسبان ہیں وہ پاسبان ہمارا
تیغوں کے سائے میں ہم پل کر جوان ہوئے ہیں
خنجر ہلال کا ہے قومی نشان ہمارا
باطل سے دبنے والے اے آسمان نہیں ہم
سو بار کر چکا ہے تو امتحان ہمارا



Mr. Jinnah Entering League Pandal

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, accompanied by Miss Fatima Jinnah, Mr. G.M. Syed, Chairman of the Reception Committee, Minister H.M. Gazdar and his Bodyguards entered the Pandal at 9-45 p m. He was greeted with loud cheers of "QAID-E-AZAM ZINDABAD"

Photo by Mansur Art Studio, Allahabad

مغرب کی وادیوں میں گونجی اذان ھماری
تھمتا نہ تھا کسی سے سیل روان ھمارا -
اے موج دجلہ تو بھی پہچانتی ھے ھم کو
اب تک ھے تیرا دریا افسانہ خوان ھمارا
اے ارض پاک تیری حرمت پہ کٹ مرے ھم
ھے خون تیری رگون میں اب تک رواں ھمارا
سالار کارواں ھے میر حجاز اپنا
اس نام سے ھے باقی ارام جان ھمارا
اقبال کا ترانہ بانگ درا ھے گویا
ھوتا ھے جادہ پیما پھر کاروان ھمارا

After this Mr. G. M. Syed, Chairman of the Reception Committee read his address.

RECEPTION ADDRESS

Mr. G. M. Sayed the Chairman Reception Committee read out his address in Urdu as follows :

Qaid-e-Azam, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the Reception Committee of the 31st Session of the All-India Muslim League, I welcome you all to the land of Sindhu. By Sindhu I mean that part of the Asiatic Continent which is situated on the boarders of the river Indus and its tributaries. Throughout the ages, Sind and Hind were considered as separate entities, and Sind included Kashmir, N.-W. Frontier Province, the Punjab, Baluchistan and the present province of Sind. But as time went on the name began to connote lesser and lesser tract till now it is assigned only to that part of land which is watered by the tail of this great river. Today again, fully aware of this fact we are moving to weld together those different parts into one harmonious whole and the new proposed name *Pakistan* connotes the same old Sindhu land.

Friends! Nature ordained the past of this land to be glorious and we hope its future would be as bright. In many ways the history of this land is unique. It is the seat of very old civilization to which Mohan-jo-Daro and

Taxila bear testimony—many a race have mixed here. Traces of Dravidian, Aryans Semitic and Mongol can be easily seen at a glance. It is not only the racial commingling but in no part of the world has the fusion of philosophies and religions in such profusion taken place as in this land. The religion of Buddha though born on the soil of Hind did thrive nowhere better than on this soil. The people of this land have not yet forgotten the lesson of *Narvana* (Doctrine of Renunciation) as taught by Gautama Buddha. When Islam reached this land, Buddhism was still prevalent and Islam added only *Ishaat* (Realization) to its teachings. Nowhere have the *Vedantic* teachings and *Vahdaniyat* influenced each other more than on this land. On the one hand *Vahdaniyat* influenced the Hindu Yogi, and worship of idols began to wane; on the other hand, the Muslim *Darvishes* used the *Sanyasi* methods and music to their own advantage and the Hindu and Muslim beliefs came nearer to each other. The teaching of Guru Nanak is specific result of this. The Sufi Muslims of this land topped by the great poet Shah Abdul Latif always endeavoured to bring about religious unity. The practical proof which the people of this land have given in effecting unity is a well established fact and non-touchability that exists elsewhere with a vengeance is nowhere less prominent than in this land.

Nowhere has nature attempted to weld together the different civilizations through the medium of trade and commerce as in this soil. The port of Dabal was centre of sea trade on the one hand, and on the other, carvans reached Bukhara and Samarkand from here to carry on the international trade. In turn the fertility of the soil of the River Indus attracted many a race to migrate to Sindhu and many of these races took up their permanent abode in the land. To this, too, ancient archeological finds on the one hand and the historical records on the other, bear abundant testimony.

From political point of view, this land has always been the battle-field of many a people. The fertility of this soil has often tempted the virile races to come down to this land of Sindhu and if a few of them satisfied with plunder returned to their homes, many after their arrival here were not willing to leave the soil. In this way, new blood has ever been pouring in its veins. As it is the political influence of Babylon, Egypt, Iran, Greece, Arabia and Afghanistan are easily traceable here. In comparison to these the influence, of Southern India is almost negligible. I have narrated this short history of this land with regard to its past glory with a view to reminding those who under the dominant influence of Hind have forgotten

or are prepared to forget the splendour and ascendancy of their homeland. As I have related some chapters of the glorious past of this land to refresh your memory, now I shall humbly put before you some ideas about its future, as I conceive it.

MESSAGE FROM ARABIAN DESERT

The man from his commencement has advanced towards one ultimate object—that of human unity of thought and action. Their religious, political and economic endeavours and aspirations are merely different attempts to reach that common goal. On every page of history you will see clearly this evolutionary process in progress. In the beginning mankind is divided into small families. In time the families are welded and assume the shape of tribes. The tribes combine and form themselves into nations. The basis of union are various; to mention a few—Habitat, Language, Mode of Life and Ideas have been some of the factors. In course of time, materialistic basis for union grew less and less prominent. It was this idea that grew to gain more and more importance in this respect and at this juncture a new voice from the desert of Arabia was heard which welded nations in one whole in a way as no other attempt up to our times has ever succeeded. It discounted all the old forms of union

based on Race, Colour, Mode of Life, Habits, Language, etc.

The Great Poet of Islam, Allama Iqbal says:—

اپنی ملت پر قیاس اقوام مغرب سے نہ کر
خاص ہے ترکیب میں قوم رسول ہاشمی
ان کی جمعیت کا ہے ملک و نسب پر انحصار
قوت مذہب سے مستحکم ہے جمعیت تری
دامن دین ہاتھ سے چھوٹا تو جمعیت کہاں
اور جمعیت ہوئی رخصت تو ملت بھی گئی

Although the influence of this voice, in the beginning, was felt by most parts of the ancient world, yet the world once again began to revert to its old modes of thought. The result of this was that the Unity of Millat was broken and the peoples that represented this idea began to separate and degenerate. This became apparent to many observant minds such as Shah Walliullah, Syed Ahmad and Jamalud Din Afghani. They endeavoured to bring to their co-religionists the forgotten lesson that Islam had brought. God be praised, to-day the poet of the East, Allama Iqbal has re-echoed the same voice in a new phraseology by the blessings of which we can observe a new vital spirit in this Millat. On the other hand, the West, after a lot of bloodshed, has begun to feel that it will not go well with the world unless foundations of so-called nations be completely altered. "Ideology" is the fashion even

of to-day. But defective and outworn idealogies are being retired and they inevitably fail and creat war after war. Partial solutions superficially conceived are being paraded under different name and these mushroom growths rise and wither within years which count no more than moments in the history of man.

The Great Poet of Islam, Hazrat Allama Iqbal says:—

اقوام جہان میں ہے رقابت تو اسی سے
مقصود ہے تسخیر تجارت تو اسی سے
خالی ہے صداقت سے سیاست تو اسی سے
کمزور کا گھر ہوتا ہے غارت تو اسی سے
اقوام میں مخلوق خدا بٹتی ہے تو اسی سے
قومیت اسلام کی جڑ کٹتی ہے تو اسی سے

Although the drive towards universal brotherhood has commenced, yet the real unity and permanent peace will not be achieved unless a satisfactory solution of the present divergent world political, economic and religious theories is found. For this, special environment and intellectual training based on historical traditions is a condition precedent. For the fulfilment of the above mission, the people of Sindhu are better suited than most. Ancient records bear testimony as to how races, civilizations, religious philosophies and political methods of governance have mingled in this country. In the establishment of new world order and in uniting the East and the West, Sindh has to

give a special message and I have already been observing indications thereof. The Synthesis must be conceived here. If America and Russia can jointly endeavour to bring nearer a new world order (although their political and economic idealogies are contractory to each other) there can be no wonder then if Malik Khizar Hayat Khan and Sir Chhoturam could join and submit the above mentioned message and set an example.

ARTIFICIAL UNITY OF INDIA

But it is regretted that some inhabitants of Hindu with a view to bringing about temporary combinations have been misleading the people of this land and this nefarious propaganda has already affected some of our Muslim and non-Muslim countrymen who have closed their eyes against history and hard facts. They have been raising slogans of one nation and united India. Sindhu wants not only to unite India but the whole world. Only the object cannot be achieved by the methods adopted by these people. May God Almighty guide them to the right path. But if they do not extricate themselves from the tramels and allurements of the self interested politician of Hind, an unnecessary discord will ensure.

The majority of the inhabitants of the land of Sindhu are now awake and, with a view to

contributing their share towards the world order, they must be made free from extra-territorial influences.

Muslim Commerce

I again appeal to my non-Muslim countrymen specially that they should join us and help us to free our land and make it independent. Our cry of "Buy from Muslim" has raised an uproar amongst them. That is one certain proof that the very sense of nationalism is lacking in them. Instead of encouraging the less industrious and poor countrymen with an effort to bring them to their level and lay the surest foundation of democratic government and prosperity of their land, they take exception even when Muslims attempt to raise their Muslim countrymen. They fail to see that their action only connotes lack of national-sense, narrow-mindedness which is destructive of the very hope of international combination. Inspite of this, if they insist on their course of action, the only way left to us will be to depend upon God and do our best for ourselves. I must then appeal to the Muslims of Hind that the non-Muslims of this land, inspite of the fact that their interests are common with us, are joining hands with the non-Muslims of Hind and want to make the inhabitants of this land slaves, only for the reason that the majority

of the inhabitants are Muslims. Under the circumstances, it is the duty of every Muslim of Hind to help us to make our native land free and independent. I, of course, greatly appreciate the efforts of the Muslims of Hind which they have put forth in the furtherance of Pakistan movement but I think they are not enough. Independence and progress of a people cannot be achieved by passing resolutions and indulging in paper propaganda. For our purposes, best endeavours and heavy sacrifices are needed. The people of this land are prepared to make sacrifices and the conditions here are favourable but all we need is sincere workers and capital.

Industrial and Economical Revolution in Pakistan

It means by sincere workers those men and women who for the sake of great Ideal and Millat would come to this land to serve for the Political and Social advancement of the Millat and be prepared for achieving our object. By capital, I mean this that from now on well-to-do Muslims of Hind would please direct their activities in the field of trade and commerce to this land that it may in future be economically independent and self-supporting. You can help us a lot to remedy these two defects. History bears witness that you have sent, in the past, such gentlemen as Syed Brelvi and

Ismail Shaheed for the above purposes. Have you no Ahmad and Ismail among you now? I am sure you have, but probably their activities in Hind do not permit them to direct their attention elsewhere.

Political Propaganda

If people from Gujrat and Bombay could go out to the Frontier to establish Hindu dominance there, could we have not hope in you friends? Our future is interwoven with your future. Whatever high stations in Hind you may occupy, I am sure, they will not be permanent without the stability of our homeland. Your integrity in India will mainly depend upon the stability of our national state.

Programme for National Organization

In order to prepare the nation to reach its desired goal, the following three things are necessary:

(1) To organize the dispersed and disorderly elements in the nation and create unity of action.

(2) To improve the economic condition of the land and make it self-sufficient.

(3) To build the future political programme on equality and fraternity that Islam enunciated.

The first requirement will be fulfilled only when the spirit of independence will be infused in the entire people and every adult is enlisted in the National Guard organization.

In fulfilling the second requirement you Muslims of India can help us a lot. The inhabitants of this land mostly belong to the agricultural profession, and are very backward in trade and industry. Your money and experience could remove this drawback. We are prepared to afford every facility for this with a view to making your way easier, we have already started the campaign of "Buy from Muslims" so that Muslims may be encouraged to take to trade. Thanks to Almighty God, this movement has produced good results and now only experience and capital can perfect this scheme. It is hoped that you would be good enough to extend to us your helping hand in this direction.

Organization of Muslim Labourers and Farmers

The opposition, at the present moment, seeing the Millat gather at one place and with a view to creating rift has started to divide and weaken the nation on the issue of setting the poor class against the rich. Unfortunately, several simple people have succumbed to that weapon and are working as their agents and under the guise of poverty of the nation, they

have been dragging it towards Civil War and ruination. It is possible that poor and illiterate people might be entangled in the hidden snare of the hunting opposition. Therefore, it is very necessary that with a view to solving the problem in a satisfactory manner, immediate steps must be taken in this direction, and sincere workers amongst us should endeavour to bring the poor agriculturist and labourer under the flag of the Muslim League and put forth all their efforts to better their economic and political conditions so that insidious and mischief making activity of the opposition, may be nipped in the bud.

Friends! From Historical point of view, a great significance attaches to this conference. Up-till-now the Muslim League has been endeavouring to unite Millat on the theory of independent sovereign state of Sindhu Nation. By the grace of God, by now, Muslims are united on that issue. Now the nation has reached the stage when steps for action have become necessary. This will be the beginning of the new phase in the political history of Millat.

In the end, I welcome you all and thank you for coming over from long distances during the cold season to this City to join us in the Conference. We have tried our best in our humble way to provide the requirements of our guests. But nothing human is perfect and,

I hope, your love and regard will cover our shortcomings. Because after all Love is what really counts and is in the last resort determinant."

The Hon'ble Mr. Hashim Gazdar, Minister of Sind, then garlanded the President, Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah with a fine looking gold Lace Garland.

At 10-50 p. m., the Qaid-e-Azam began to deliver his presidential address of the 31st Session of the All-India Muslim League to his nation of 10 crores of Mussalmans of India in Pakistan Parliament. Mr. Jinnah, who delivered his speech extempore in English, was heard with rapt attention. Every inch of Pakistan Parliament was occupied. About 100 journalists, including foreign correspondents were present in the Press Gallery.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Speaking in a clear voice in pindrop silence Mr. Jinnah thanked the people for electing him President of the League again this year.

The following is the full text of the address:

Brother delegates of the All-India Muslim League, ladies and gentlemen:

"I thank you for having once more honoured me and elected me as President of the All-India Muslim League this year. I can only say, as I have repeatedly said, that if there is any call from you for any opportunity to serve with my heart and soul, Muslim India and the cause for which we stand, I shall neither falter nor hesitate to obey (cheers). You know that it is now more than seven years since we undertook the revival, the re-organisation and the re-vitalisation of the All-India Muslim League. I think, without exaggeration, it is an undeniable fact that in these seven strenuous years and in the struggle we have gone through for the last seven years, we have made remarkable progress which has been admitted by our friends, by our admirers, and even by our opponents to-day (cheers).

You have shown not only to India, but to

the whole world, and fully established, that we are a nation and that we shall never rest content until we seize the territory that belongs to us and rule over it. (Hear, hear).

"The struggle is a long one and is a hard one. It requires of you all—let me tell you and especially those who get impatient and who get into a frame of desperation or despair—to realise that the struggle is a long one, is a hard one and it calls upon every one of you—specially I now address the youth—every one of you for patience, hard work, steady progress for building up of this great nation to which we belong. I caution that every step has got to be considered from various points of view before we take one step, and the next before one. Well, so far I think you will admit that we have met every manœuvre, every machination, every scheme and design to break us, with success every time. (Hear, hear). I do not want to give you the whole story, I shall just run through it. We have survived the opposition, which came first from the Government and the bureaucracy when we undertook to re-organise our movement. Public memory is not always very strong and is very fleeting, and therefore, I think it will be better to repeat it here. That was the first opposition and that was from the bureaucracy, and for reason of their own, that opposition was slackened.

"Then came the terrific onslaught from the

Congress — mass-contacts, and challenges. When the Congress Ministeries were formed the Muslim League was an anathema to them. The Muslim League was ordered to liquidate itself. The members of the Muslim League were told to abjure their allegiance to this body before the Congress could even touch them. Elections, then disruptions were created amongst the Muslims, one after another. Congress Mussalmans, Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Ahrar, Azad Conference, Momins, Shias, Sunnis— every effort was made to destroy the Muslim League, but every effort to cause disruptions in the Muslim League re-bounded upon them as a boomerang, as the Muslim nation knew where their true course to follow was, and even to-day we are not left in peace. But today their methods have changed a bit. Their methods are subtle, insidious, and intended to play underground and under-mine the League.

League Now Solid

"I think in the course of my speech, I shall have to refer to this later on. But I think that I am not exaggerating, when I say the Muslim League and Muslim India have now become shock-proof, slogan-proof and stunt-proof. In fact it is proof against every machination. (Hear, hear). I would most respectfully advise our opponents, be they Congress or Hindu

leadership or the British, you cannot break us, you will never be able to break us now. (Cheers). The sooner they realise this, the better. Do not meddle with our affairs.

If you want to come to terms with us, we are always ready and willing to come to terms with the British Government or the Hindus on honourable terms and on no other terms. (Cheers.)

" Well, ladies and gentlemen, we have gone through, as I said, all these seven years of struggle, and the time has now come for us to examine our balance-sheet and stock-taking. Today there is not the slightest doubt that it is acknowledged the world over that the Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative organisation of Muslim India. We have got millions and millions of Mussalmans behind us; we have got our flag and our platform, and what is more, our definite goal of Pakistan. (Cheers). We have created complete unity of ideal and thought. About that there can be no doubt, whatsoever. We are completly united in our ideals and in our thoughts.

" Now has come the stage when it is absolutely essential that we must undertake further steps and start an organisational machinery; directive, efficient and effective for action; and we must prepare ourselves. Just as we have established after seven years, unity of ideals

and unity of thought, so we must in the next period of our programme, establish complete unity of action. Now, before you take any action, you must be qualified for it. And what are the necessary requisites which would qualify for an effective action?

Constructive Work

"First, you must undertake in real earnest a constructive programme for the uplift of our people, educationally, socially, economically and politically. It is now for you, the delegates of the All-India Muslim League, who are here from all parts of India, to apply your minds seriously to these questions. I know we have not got the air force; I know we have not got tanks; I know we have not got any army; I know we have not got any navy. You will get all that. You may not require it even. There may be no need for it even, provided you have the will and determination and unfaltering faith and unity, and faith in your cause. You will achieve your goal provided you organise yourselves thoroughly and efficiently.

Therefore, I urge upon you at this session that it is most essential to take the next step to set up an organisational machinery.

"It is for you to consider this in the Subjects Committee. I can only put my views before you. But I suggest that now the work of the

Muslim League organization has grown beyond the physical capacity of any single man. If you were to know what I have to attend to all alone, you will be astonished. All over India, to-day this thing happening in Patna; to-morrow that thing happening in Bengal; day after to-morrow this thing happening in N.-W.F.P., day after that this thing happening in Madras. All sorts of questions arise from day to day and from week to week. Now it is not possible for one single man to do justice to all this. And remember the position of Muslim India, if I can explain by analogy, is this. When a man is sick and almost dying, he has not got energy either to complain or to ask for anything. He is practically unconscious of what is happening around him and he does not care what is going to happen to him, the world or anybody else. He is in a semi-unconscious state or almost on the point of death. That sick man on the death-bed has not the energy to say anything and cannot do anything. He has not got the energy even to complain.

"That was the codition of Muslim India seven years ago; but, to-day, the sick man has recovered from his death-bed. He has acquired consciousness. He is not only convalescent but he is in a position to move about. Now he has got so many suggestions and proposals to make, so many disputes and so many quarrels to

settle. It is a good sign provided it is kept within limits. It is a very good sign of a healthy man. I get some suggestions, which are splendid ones and thoughtful ones and very good, too. I get complaints and petty quarrels, which I do not like. But anyhow it is a healthy sign. In one word, let me put it to you this way. I am thankful to God that Muslim India is awake, I am thankful that Muslim India has acquired consciousness. I am thankful that Muslim India is taking interest in things around it, not only in India, but throughout the world. I am thankful that Muslim India is taking an intelligent interest in every thing that is going on now.

"I am asked why the Muslim League should not establish a complete machinery and bureau to set up national industries for Muslim India all over India and especially in Pakistan. Why should we not undertake planning? Why should we not undertake the establishment of big and heavy industries in Pakistan? Why should the Muslim League not undertake the planning of a national system of education? I am only giving just a few instances—I have got a number of them to go on mentioning till midnight, but I shall not do that.

Committee of Action

"All these proposals, suggestions and demands are pouring in. As I say, this is a very

good sign. Now, we are also self-conscious. We are also alive to the stage that we have reached. My humble advice to the delegates of the All-India Muslim League is this. At any rate we may not be able to achieve or realise all these demands at once. Nor can we immediately put into operation the various suggestions and proposals. But the stage has come when it is absolutely essential that you must have a Committee of Action, a Committee consisting of not less than five and not more than seven. It should be the function of this Committee to undertake not only to organise, further organise, co-ordinate and unify as an All-India policy but also examine the various demands and proposals and suggestions that come from time to time.

In other words, we want a Committee with a Secretariat. I, therefore, ask you, brother delegates, to consider this question most seriously.

"It is true we are not flushed with money. In a way, my expectations have not been realised. I made an appeal for funds. I think the Muslims could have done it. But still it has not happened. I made an appeal for funds of at least Rs. 10,00,000. That was more than a year and nine months, or very nearly two years, ago. Anyhow I have received some support. I have been getting some encouragement. Up to the present moment I have re-

alised about Rs. 5,50,000. Well, this money is not collected for the purpose of investment. This money is not collected for the purpose of multiplying it. But this money is collected for the purpose of helping the Muslim League organisation and development. I am sure we shall get more funds. Of that I am confident. But we need not wait till we get more. Let us at least do something out of what we have got. We are in a position now to set up an efficient secretariat and this Committee of Action.

"Next, you know the Parliamentary activities are growing. We are, as you know, fighting bye-elections sometimes. We had bye-elections in the North-West Frontier Province. We had a bye-election only recently in Shikarpur. Now, with regard to you Parliamentary activities, it is absolutely essential and necessary that there should be a supreme body. For that purpose, again, my respectful suggestion is that you should have an All-India Parliamentary Board consisting of three persons. I tell you why. A number of candidates apply for ticket of the All-India Muslim League. Some of them are rejected—may be rightly, may be wrongly. When disputes arise, there is no machinery of a standing character that can be approached at once and can be appealed to, to intervene and do justice.

"You know that in the local affairs there are certain prejudices. You know very often

familiarity breeds contempt and distrust. This is not only in India but everywhere else. You know there are local intrigues and cliques. At present our machinery is not efficient, and, therefore, it cannot work efficiently. At present the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League is the authority for the purpose of giving the Muslim League ticket to the candidates for various elections—not only the elections to the Assembly or the Upper House such as in Bengal where there are two Houses but with regard to Municipalities, District Boards and Local Boards. In some of the Provinces the Working Committees have appointed Parliamentary Boards.

Court of Appeal

But, ladies and gentlemen, as you know, even in an ordinary litigation, the litigants are not satisfied unless they can go to the Privy Council. There is always the subordinate judge or the district judge, and there is the High Court and there is the Privy Council. Well, people get more satisfied when they go to the High Court, because it is a detached body, away from local surroundings and local atmosphere. People are still more satisfied, even the losing party is more satisfied, when they get a decision from the Privy Council, because it is a detached body. Similarly, it is necessary that

we must have a final court of appeal as a detached body of three persons who would be appointed by the All-India authority of the Muslim League.

"Therefore, these two bodies are absolutely essential, and we must not lose any time in creating and appointing these two bodies.

"No doubt there are many other questions, which will require our consideration—educational planning, economic planning, social planning. These are very big questions, but once you have set up a Committee of five or seven, believe me it will be the beginning of examination of all these various questions, and there will then be an efficient machinery which will be able to direct, guide and control all these various suggestions and if possible put them into practice. That stage has come. These are my concrete suggestions to you for further strengthening, further organising, further consolidating and further creating more strength, more power, more vigour in the organisation of the All-India Muslim League.

FOOD PROBLEM

"The next question that I would like to place before you is this. It is the food problem. Ladies and gentlemen, I must tell you that I called a meeting of the five Premiers from the dominant Muslim League Ministers and domi-

nant Muslim provinces. I invited them to meet me in Delhi about the 15th or 16th of November. They were all good enough to come, except the Premier of Assam, Sir Saadullah. But then he wrote expressing his inability and deputed Mr. A. Matin Chowdhry, his colleague and Minister in the Assam Govt. Amongst other things that I had to consult them about this food problem was discussed with them at great length. Let me tell you there was entire agreement among all these five provinces. It is absolutely untrue as it is misrepresented in a certain section of the press that they were divided.

"It is further absolutely untrue that Lord Wavell took the wind out of our sails by summoning them over my head while they were in Delhi. It is after full discussion and after agreement that we ourselves asked Lord Wavell to meet the Premiers and discuss the food problem. He was good enough to give an immediate appointment and time the very next day. It is in consequence of that arrangement that the Muslim League Premiers had an interview with Lord Wavell. It is utterly false to say that there was any difference of opinion. It is utterly false to say that Lord Wavell upset my machinations. There were no machinations at all. Ours is a plain, honest, straightforward position. It was this that so far as the food trouble in India was concerned, knowing

as we did the conditions and the constitution of the Government of India, we were ready and willing, for very good reasons and obvious reasons, and, above all, in the name of Humanity, to do everything in our power to avert this scourage of famine and the shadow of death and prevent recurrence of it in this country anywhere.

CULTIVATORS' INTERESTS

"Actuated by this motive, the whole situation was discussed. It is not at all true that these provinces or any one of them represented by the Muslim Premiers are not alive fully to their sense of responsibility or are actuated by any vested interests. The real issue was, ladies and gentlemen, not that we did not recognise the efficacy of control; not that we did not recognise the efficacy of procurement; not that we did not recognise the efficacy of rationing; not that we did not recognise that under the present system of government and the conditions under which we are living, there must be a uniform policy. But the real issue and that real issue is not clear—was: Are the agriculturists and the producers of foodgrains to be bled to fatten the industrialists? Is there going to be one rule of justice for one class or one interest, and another rule of justice and fair play for another class and another interest?

(Hear, hear and cries of Qaid-i-Azam Zindabad).

"What we urged and what we still urge is that if you want to control foodgrains, you must equally, in all earnestness and sincerity, control the prices of all other essential articles and essential ingredients which are necessary for the existence of the very man, the agriculturist whom you want to control.

"Let me put it to you this way. To-day I am a producer; I am an agriculturist. You say to me look here, before the war or even sometime after the war, you got only Re. 1 for a seer or whatever of food-giving me? When I got that Rupee. I am going to give you Rs. 3 for the same measure. Well, what are you giving me? When I got that Rupee before the war or even for some time after the war, that Re. 1 had the purchasing power not of Rs. 3 of to-day but of Rs. 5 of today. What is the good of giving me 5 notes of one rupee each and when I go to buy my necessaries of life, these five rupees of mine are not equal to one rupee but only to 12 annas?

"Therefore, you don't go in terms of currency or number of notes, but you go in terms of the value of your currency paper and the purchasing power in the bazar for the necessaries of life. That is the real issue. That is the issue which the Government of India have got to tackle. Unless they come out with a clear-

cut and honest policy of giving a fair deal to all interests, it is no use oppressing only the agriculturist and the producer and giving undue advantages to other interests at the cost of farmers (Criesof no, no, never).

POLITICAL SITUATON

"Ladies and gentlemen, the next question that I wish to deal with is the political situation in the country. So far as the political situation in the country is concerned, addressing the Council of the All-India Muslim League last November, I said that there was no change and nothing new had happened. The position to-day before you briefly is this. The British Government are plying. More or less it was clear and it has been repeatedly made clear. They say one thing at one time and another thing at another time. But the net result is that they tell Mussalmans that 'we are not against Pakistan, but it is the Hindus who are against it.' They tell the Hindus, 'we are not against Akhand Hindustan, but it is the Mussalmans who are against it.' They are it seems only in favour of one thing—to see how their own raj should continue. But so far as the Hindus and Mussalmans are concerned, I put it to you again, ladies and gentlemen—if my voice can go beyond this pandal to those also who are really honest and sincere well-wishers of the

peoples of India—can we, Muslim India, accept Akhand Hindustan and Hindu raj over this entire sub-continent? (Cries of no, no, never).

"Is it possible to expect us unless we are unconscious—and we were unconscious before the war, but now we are fully conscious—to expect Muslim India to agree to Akhand Hindustan and Hindu Raj in this sub-continent? (Cries of it is not possible). But that is the proposal, and they have not yet given up their dreams. On the other hand, there is the talk of independence. I ask, whose independence? I warn you and I have repeatedly warned you—they mean the independence of Hindu India and the slavery of Muslim India. Now what do we say? We say Pakistan.

"Ladies and gentlemen, I ask any intelligent man if he would only apply his mind for one second, can you achieve Pakistan without the independence of India? (Cries of no, it is impossible). When we say Pakistan, we mean not our independence only, but the independence of Hindus also. (Hear, hear).

"If the Hindu, owing to obsession, dream, or cussedness still puts obstructions in the way of freedom of both and insists upon the freedom of one and the slavery of the other, then I ask you, who is the man, who is the party, except the Hindus who are responsible for the holding up of the progress of this country?

Well, that has been obvious for a long time. But for the pronouncements of Lord Wavell, the present Viceroy, there would have been nothing new. Lord Wavell made a speech recently at the Associated Chambers of Commerce meeting at Calcutta, as is the custom and tradition of every Viceroy to make important announcements at the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, a foreign corporation. He, in his speech has said what was more or less already clear, although the previous Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, indulged in subtleties and embellishments.

VICEROY'S PLAIN SPEAKING

" Mr. Amery preached to the world as to the attitude and the policy of the British Government regarding the Indian constitutional problem with great finesse. Recently Mr. Amery made it clear through somebody that the principles of the Atlantic Charter were made applicable to India, 18 months before the Atlantic Ocean produced the Atlantic Charter. (Laughter). But what was, as I said full of subtleties, embellishments and finesse, which these two great statesmen practised? The soldier-like Viceroy, Lord Wavell has spoken in plain language, so that even a man in the street can understand. I think those of you who have read that speech know where you stand and

how you stand. In that respect Lord Wavell has made a great contribution to the political problem of India. What does he say? Of course his mental bag, he probably found it necessary to jettison in the Mediterranean before he crossed the Suez Canal and he is no more embarrassed by his bag.

"What does he say now? He says 'I do not believe that political differences can be solved by administrative actions or by talking about them at present. I am quite sure they cannot be solved by talking. I am quite sure they cannot be solved by administrative actions either. There is nothing new about that. The Viceroy then says that he still believes that he can solve all immediate economic problems. He also believes that he can materially tackle the post-war reconstruction and the food problems. So having put the political issue in the cold storage for all practical purposes or at any rate indefinitely, although he does not say that it is put in cold storage till after the war, he proceeds to say: 'I am concentrating on the job we have to do'. What is the job or work that he has to do? The winning of the war is number one.

"Ladies and gentlemen it is really astonishing that he, the representative of the Crown, speaking with responsibility and in all seriousness, thinks that he can win this war while he is totally indifferent to the political situation in India. What is happening in this world? Was

the British Government not concerned with the winning of the war? What happened when the Lebanon question came? What happened when the Syrian question came? Were all these political adjustments made from merely the humanitarian point of view? What happened when the difference took place in Algiers between the French? What is happening in other parts of the world?

"Ladies and gentlemen it is really astonishing, it is sheer blindness to say my job is only to win the war. To win the war and how? with all humility, I say to the British Government. You have got to get the whole-hearted and enthusiastic support of some party in this country if not of all.

"The next thing the Viceroy is going to do is the organization of the economic home front. How is he going to do that? He tells you how he is going to do it. He says that amongst the jobs that he has to do is the economic home front and preparations for peace by using all resources which India has in determination, energy and intelligence. May I know, how he is going to get all the resources of India in determination, energy and intelligence, when every party is kept at arms length, discontented and dissatisfied? But this is how he is going to accomplish it. He says: 'For this purpose (wining the war, the economic home front, the post-war reconstruction and the mobilizing of

the resources of India in determination, energy and intelligence) I would welcome co-operation from any one or any body. I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, is this really not a flagrant abuse of the English word—*Co-operation*? What co-operation. Does it not, in plain language mean that without giving any part, any real share in the authority of the Government, we are asked to do the work of camp followers, menials and subservients? Can you expect any self-respecting organisation to accept that position? (Cries of 'no').

AMAZING COMPLACENCY

"Even if we were so foolish as to fall in with this fantastic suggestion, can any intelligent man believe that we can ever succeed in putting real enthusiasm and secure the whole-hearted and genuine support and co-operation of the people? Can we succeed in making them war minded, when we are invited to assist the Viceroy as camp followers, as menials or as subservients? It is amazing, this complacency with which these pronouncements are made. Does it not really mean, in plain language, that the British Government are pursuing a definite policy and they do not want the co-operation of any party—it does not matter which party it is. Congress has decided to non-co-operate. Congress has decided to resort to mass civil

disobedience if their demands are not conceded. Congress has been outlawed. What has the rest of India done that you should talk to them in this language, which nobody can tolerate or even understand?

"We have time and again, made it clear, we have offered our hand of co-operation for the job or work that Lord Wavell wants to do, provided our hand is accepted as that of a confident friend with a share, real share in the authority of the Government and with a definite promise that we shall get our share in the fruits of victory when we win it. That has been rejected. They speak of organisations—the Congress. Hindu organisation which represents no doubt the solid body of Hindu opinion, and the Muslim League which represents the solid body of Muslim opinion. They have outlawed the one. Well, I suppose they would like to outlaw the Muslim League also. We are quite ready for it. (Cheers).

"Why do you, dishonestly and falsely bracket these organisations together and treat them on the same basis and beat them with the same stick? That is my complaint. It is not honest. I am of the opinion that this policy that is pursued by the British Government—after all, Lord Wavell is only acting according (what shall I say?) to the instrument of instructions of the British policy which has already been decided—this British policy is going to prove

disastrous. You know Mr. Churchill, some time ago said, that he was not called or summoned to be the First Minister of the King to liquidate the British Empire.

"No, I can tell him this, that voluntary liquidation is more honourable than compulsory one. (Hear, hear).

"It will redound to the honour of the British nation, and it will be recognised by us as an act of friendship which has got its value and assets in the future. But compulsory liquidation will have none of those advantages, and the British Empire will have to be liquidated one day, whether you like it or not. (Hear, hear and shouts of Qaid-i-Azam Zanidabad) I will only trouble you with one quotation, as it is rather interesting. This is what John Bright said in 1858. John Bright was making his speech when the India Bill was introduced in the Parliament on the occasion of the assumption of sovereignty over India of the British queen. In that speech he said:—

"How long does England propose to govern India? Nobody can answer it. May be, 50 or 100 or 500 years. Does any man with the smallest glimmering of common sense believe that so great a country with its 20 different nations and 20 different languages, can ever be bound up and consolidated into one compact and enduring empire? I believe such a thing to be utterly impossible. We must fail in

the attempt if ever we make it, and we are bound to look into the future with reference to that point. The Madras presidency, for instance, having its own government, would in 50 years become one compact State, and every part of the presidency would look to the city of Madras as its capital, and to the Government of Madras its ruling power. If that were to go on for a century or more, there would be five or six presidencies of India, built up into so many compact States; and if at any future period the sovereignty of England should be withdrawn, we should leave so many presidencies built up and firmly compacted together, each able to support its own independence and its own government, and we should be able to say we had not left the country a prey to that anarchy and discord which is to be inevitable if we insist on holding those vast territories with the idea of building them up into one great empire."

"This is what John Bright said in 1858. After 85 years we are now impressing upon the successors to those great British statesmen that the only way, the only honest way for Great Britain is to divide and quit. Unity can only be on the basis of division of property and possession to the respective two nations, the Hindus and the Mussalmans. The other minorities will be the acid test. It will be the sacred, solemn duty of Pakistan and Hindustan

to safeguard, to protect, to give a fair and just deal to the minorities who would be under two zones. (Hear, hear).

ANSWER TO COMMUNISTS

"Well now we come to the Congress and Hindu leadership. Gentlemen, I see no change except a parrot-like cry. I find that cleverest party that is carrying on propaganda are the Communists. They have got so many flags, and I think they consider that there is safety in number. (Laughter). They have got the Red flag; they have got the Russian flag; they have got the Soviet flag; they have got the Congress flag. And now they have been good enough to introduce our flag also. (Laughter). Well, when a man has got too many flags I get suspicious. They shout that they want a Congress-League settlement. Who says no? But the question is, on what basis? It is no use shouting this parrot-like cry that we want a Congress-League settlement. On what basis? Mr. Gandhi in his letter which he wrote to Lord Linlithgow on January 19, 1943, as a part of the correspondence between him and the ex-Viceroy, says:

"If I could be convinced of my error, worse of which you are evidently, I should need to consult nobody, so far as my own action is concerned, to make a full and open

confession and make ample amends. But I have not any conviction of error. I wonder if you saw my letter to the Secretary to the Government of India of September 23, 1942. I adhere to what I have said in it and in my letter to you of August 14, 1942.

"Well now this was in January 1943. Am I wrong, am I doing injustice if I say that the clear meaning of this letter is that when Mr. Gandhi wrote it, he stood every inch by the August 1942 resolution and the policy and the demand made in that resolution? I do not want to worry you unnecessarily. But those of you who have read that resolution must come to this conclusion—there is no other conclusion—Mr. Gandhi and the Congress not only did not consult the Muslim League, but only ignored the Muslim League, but it was a definite, determined and deliberate attempt to by-pass the Muslim League and to force the hands of the British Government to surrender to their demands, which would mean death to Muslim demands. Mr. Gandhi says in his letter of January 1943, I stick to my guns.

TO VIKRAMADITYA AGE

"Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, if Mr. Gandhi sticks to his guns and if he is holding a pistol at us—not at the British only but at

us—and wants to by-pass us and there is no change in his policy, may I ask any man with common sense: What is the basis on which any negotiations can proceed and can fructify into any reasonable settlement? Has there been any change since January 1943? Is there any indication or sign of it? Millions of Congressmen are outside the jail. On the contrary, they have been contemplating the form of government based on the ancient culture and the system which prevailed in the days of that great Hindu historic period of Vikramaditya. I ask any sensible man, any fairminded man how is it possible for us to accept that position?

"A few isolated Hindu leaders have shown some sort of sympathy with our point of view. But when they talk, they talk in a language of subtlety. In fact, to begin with, they are afraid to use the word 'Pakistan'. They prefer to use the phraseology 'self-determination.' When they are talking of self-determination, they talk about it with their tongue in their cheek, and wind up by saying well, we are willing to go as far as possible. In the same breath when responsible Hindu leaders speak in this dubious language, they turn against us and we are told that we are non-co-operating with the Congress, if we don't agree with them. I ask you: Is there any iota of truth in that? It is the other way.

It is the Congress which is responsible and which forced us to defend our rights and ourselves.

"To start with, it is the Congress that would not touch the League with a pair of tongues. It is the Congress to whom the League was an anathema. They corrupted Mussalmans, by way of offering Ministries, to give up the League; they picked up any Muslim who was willing to abuse the League, and demanded that the Muslim League should be liquidated. That is the Congress.

"So far as we are concerned, it is not a question of non-co-operation. It is a question of defence against the Congress having taken up the attitude since 1937, to dominate Mussalmans and to establish by hook or by crook Hindu raj and Hindu Government. We are defending against that monstrosity, those machinations and those designs. It is not a question of non-co-operation at all. Then again we are told politely but again most untruthfully this that our demands are impossible. We are not told what is the impossible demand that we are making. But we are told this, that Hindus will begin to prefer to make the best of things as they stand at present rather than agree to what they honestly deem to be our unreasonable demands.

"So rather than agree to what they consider our unreasonable demands, the Hindus will, and are ready to, accept the British raj. We are not told what is our unreasonable demand, which makes them so desperate except that we refuse to accept or agree to the establishment of Hindu raj. Then we are told that signs are indeed not wanting, from which we may infer that this process has already begun, the process that the Hindus are ready and willing to accept the British raj.

"Lastly, we are told that our indifference to the goal of independence—we are indifferent to the goal of independence—mark these words—would lead the Muslim youth to rebel against the League. Now, is not this subtle? Is not this suggesting that we are indifferent to the goal of independence? Is it not slighting the Muslim youth to say that the elder politicians of theirs are indifferent to the goal of independence? Let me tell you from this platform that this is a vicious, sinister, wicked propaganda to incite the Muslim youth against the League. There is no truth whatsoever in the suggestion that we are reconciled to the British Raj. On the contrary, we are told by this authority that signs are indeed not wanting that the Hindus are willing to accept British Raj rather than come to a settlement with us."

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan. "Who was the Hindu leader that said all this?"

"The Hindu leader that has said all this is Mr. Rajagopalachari. You will find it in his pamphlet entitled *The Way Out*.

"Well, ladies and gentlemen, that is the position so far as the Hindu opinion is concerned. Now all I can say to you is this. We cannot depend upon any one, and we do not depend upon any one. It is only by our own inherent strength, by our work, by our service, by our sacrifices, that we shall achieve this goal of ours—Pakistan. Hindus cannot give you Pakistan. The utmost that the Hindus can do is not to obstruct you, so that he may get his freedom and you may get your freedom. That is the utmost that he can do—withdraw his obstruction, with a reasonable chance of his getting his freedom and our getting our freedom. The British Government can give it, because they are in possession. Whether they make up their mind to give or whether they do not make up their mind to give, or whether they go on camouflaging, evading, putting forward plausible excuses—I am confident that with all their diplomacy, with all their great genius in bamboozling people, in befooling people, we are now shock-proof even against the diplomacy of the British Government. (Hear, hear). They cannot, and will not be able to, prevent us from seizing Pakistan. (Cheers).

"We have made a beginning It is a small beginning . . . It is not for the sake of getting jobs for our people as Ministers that we are approving of those Ministries being formed and functioning where Mussalmans are in the majority.

"We have taken the first step. These Ministries are there, because of the Muslim League behind them. It is Muslim League, through their agents, that has seized such power, limited power as there is. This is only a part, which will make a contribution to the whole of our organisational field. If our Ministers utilise properly such powers as they possess, limited as they are, they can, if they are so minded, galvanise, consolidate, unify and make the Muslim League a living force in those provinces. As the same time they can immediately undertake measures of ameliorative character and a constructive programme not with a view to do injustice to the minorities but for ameliorative purposes of their provinces socially, educationally, economically; they can, within these limited powers, render great service to their respective provinces if they are so minded. Well we are trying the experiment. Let us see what emerges from this laboratory.

STARVING BENGAL

"Now, I wish to say this—and I think I shall be echoing the feelings and sentiments of every

person, who is present here and even outside—that our deepest, most heart-felt and sincerest sympathies go out to the people of Bengal in their suffering from this terrible famine that has overtaken them. Let us pray that this scourage will disappear, and let us pray that it will not recur not only in Bengal but in any other part of India.

"In conclusion, I say to you, every one—man, woman and child, young and old—stand unflinchingly, without faltering. In Pakistan lies our distiny." (Loud and prolonged cheers).

Mr. Jinnah spoke for about 100 minutes. During his speach he coughed four or five times which showed that he had a touch of cold, otherwise he seemed quite hale. He finished his history-making speech just past midnight.

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, on behalf of all congratulated Mr. Jinnah on his 67th birthday, it being 25th of December.

Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, President of the All-India States Muslim League, then rendered Mr. Jinnah's address in brilliant eloquent Urdu prose for the benefit of those who did not follow English.

SECOND SITTING

The second sitting of the thirty-first session of the All-India Muslim League commenced at 9-00 p.m. on December 25, 1943.

Proceedings of the Conference began with the recitation from the Holy Quran by Maulana Abdul Hamid Badauni which was followed by Urdu, Sindhi and Punjabi poems. Maulana Khan Mir Hilali, formerly Secretary, Peshawar Congress Committee, now prominent League leader in the Frontier, recited Pushtu poem demanding the establishment of Pakistan.

Clad in black sherwani, the Qaid-i-Azam Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, as usual escorted by two bodyguards with drawn swords, and accompanied by Miss Fatima Jinnah, Mr. G. M. Sayed, Nawab Mamdot, President Punjab Provincial Muslim League, Qazi Issa Khan, President Baluchistan League, the Hon'ble Mr. M. H. Gazdar, Minister Sind, entered the pandal, at 10 p.m. He was greeted by loud shouts of "Qaid-i-Azam, Zindabad," "Pakistan Zindabad," "Shahinshah-i-Pakistan Zindabad," "Fateh-i-Congress Zindabad."

Over one Lakh of Muslims were present in

the pandal, that presented a gala appearance with long parallel rows of brilliant lights. The gathering had lost nothing of its magnitude, or enthusiasm as compared with the first sitting. National guards were busy controlling the large crowds seeking admission into the pandal through the different gates. The number of delegates and members of All-India Muslim League Council had increased since the first day's sitting, because of fresh arrivals, moreover because deliberations of national importance were to be discussed and adopted.

Mian Bashir Ahmed, Bar-a-Law of Lahore, a member of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee had written a poem in Urdu, specially for the occasion of Mr. Jinnah's 67th birthday. It was recited by Mr. Anwar Qureshi in his own beautiful style. The poem is:—

گلشن ھند میں وہ پھول کھلا آج کے دن
جس کی خوشبو سے مہکتی ھے فضا آج کے دن
آئی دنیا میں بہار اور خزان سرسٹھ بار
رنگ و بو پھر بھی ھے سوا آج کے دن
آج کے دن جو کراچی میں ھوا وہ پیدا
روح پرور ھے کراچی کی ھوا آج کے دن
قوم مسلم کے لئے پھر ھے مزا آج کے دن
ایک نفس اس کو ھے ملا آج کے دن
حوصلے اپنے ھیں مضبوط ارادے ھیں بلند
شامل حال ھوا فضل خدا آج کے دن

قطرہ خون جو گرا اس کا تو اٹھی یہ صدا
غازی قوم ھے رشک شہدا آج کے دن
قوم کی راہ نمائی کرے سو سال جئے
دل مسلم سے نکلتی ھے دعا آج کے دن

Sir Nazimuddin, Premier of Bengal who arrived earlier in the day, was sitting in the first row behind Mr. Jinnah's along with other provincial Premiers.

. COMMITTEE OF ACTION

Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman, M.L.A. (U.P.) Member, Working Committee, All-India Muslim League, moved the first resolution about setting up a committee of action. The full text of the resolution is :—

"Whereas the All-India Muslim League in its annual session held at Delhi in April, 1943 had, in view of the vague, indefinite and unsettled policy of British Government towards the Muslim demands of Pakistan on the one hand and the unpatriotic, short-sighted and antagonistic attitude of the Hindus on the other, resolved to rely on the untiring effort, grim determination and willing sacrifices of the Muslims of India generally and the Muslims of Pakistan zones in particular for the attainment of their cherished goal. This session of the All-Indian Muslim League hereby resolves to appoint a Committee of Action of not

less than five and not more than seven members to be nominated by the President to prepare and organise the Muslims all over India to meet all contingencies, resist the imposition of an all-India Federation or any other constitution for one united India, and prepare them for the coming struggle for the achievement of Pakistan."

Chaudhury Khaliq-uz-Zaman said that the Muslims in their fight had an advantage in that the areas in which they wanted to establish Pakistan, were already, to all intents and purposes, a distinct part of India.

OBJECTIONS

He referred to some of the objections made by the opponents of the League scheme—that historically India has been one united country, that if the League scheme is accepted that unity would be destroyed and the country weakened, that Hindus and Muslims are one nation, that Pakistan, if established, would be economically so weak that it would not be able to stand on its own legs. Chaudhury Sahib referred to the parallel case of the Lebanon, a country with a population of hardly 1,500,000. For 1300 years the Lebanon had been a part of Syria but it was thought fit at the end of the last war to separate it from that country and hand it over as a mandate to France. During

the present crisis, the Arabs who were in a minority in that country, were whole-heartedly behind the national demand for complete and immediate independence without regard to the fact that the mojority was Christian. When such a small country, the speaker added, could be a separate independent country, why could Pakistan not with a population of 60 millions and an area greater than that of most of the big countries of Europe. The Muslims did not want Pakistan just to oppress the Hindu minorities but because they did not wish to live under permanent Hindu domination as would be the case in a federal India.

The mover expressed the determination of the Muslims of India to attain their objective of Pakistan at all costs. He pointed out the instance of the Lebanon, a small country with a small population which had been allowed to enjoy freedom. The proposed state of Pakistan with its huge territory and large population could hold its own. He deplored the attitude of the Hindus in their opposition to the just demand of the Muslims. Their attitude kept both the nations under British tutelage.

The proposed Committee of Action, Chaudhury Khaliq-uz-Zaman said, would undertake the task of working for achieving Pakistan and he assured it would not be a committee of words. In conclusion he said the minorities in Pakistan would get a fair deal and their legiti-

mate interests protected.

Concluding he said, "If any effort will be made to keep us under eternal yoke of slavery, we will resist it to our uttermost. The idea underlying the appointment of this Committee of Action is that we should be organised and declare that we will sacrifice our very lives for the attainment of our cherished goal—PAKISTAN."

"PAKISTAN—THE VERY LIFE OF MUSLIMS"

The resolution was seconded by Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, Premier of the North-West Frontier Province. "Pakistan," the Frontier Premier said, "is our *Iman*. It is our very life." Referring to the Hindu charge that the Muslims stood in the way of Indian freedom he asked: "Whose freedom? Is it not freedom of 75 per cent. Hindus and oppression and slavery of 25 per cent. Muslims?" The Muslims were not enamoured of such freedom. They wanted freedom in their own six provinces while the Hindus could have theirs in the other six. "We will not be only fair and just to the minorities inhabiting Pakistan: we will be generous," he declared.

CONGRESS CLAIM

Sardar Aurangzeb Khan said that the Congress claimed that it had a large following

among the Muslims. If so it should have no objection to Pakistan if the Muslims of India decided by plebiscite to have it.

Referring to the Hindu contention that Hindus and Muslims were one nation and as such India should remain one unified whole, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan observed that compared to India the various peoples inhabiting Europe were more homogeneous. Almost all of them professed the same religion. And yet Europe was split up into various countries, big and small. Statesmanship demanded that India should also be partitioned as that was the only solution of the vexed Indian question. When Europe could not be federated it was folly to try to federate this sub-continent. "I am prepared to fight for the freedom of India if Hindus promise us self-determination in the six Pakistan Provinces.

"But when the Shahid Gunj Mosque incident comes before my eyes, wherein Muslims had neglected to claim their right for a short while, the mosque was lost to them. Was it just? Could we expect similar justice from the hands of our Hindu brotheren when such glaring examples of injustice can be practiced under the British protection?"

Another objection to Pakistan was that economically Pakistan could not be self-sufficient. The real position, the speaker continued, was that at present most of the

income of the provinces went to the centre out of which the centre gave back only a fraction to the provinces. For example, the Frontier Province, out of its revenues sent about Rs. 9,000,000 to Delhi and Delhi sent back hardly one-eighth of it. Similarly, the Central Government earned no less than seven crores of rupees in customs duties from the port of Karachi. Under Pakistan all this income would go to the Pakistan treasury and so there was no reason to suppose that economically Pakistan was an impossibility.

Sardar Aurangzeb regretted the Hiddu attitude but he regretted the British attitude more. During the recent Congress movement, he said, the Muslims had adopted neutrality and thus scrupulously avoided embarrassing the British Government at a most critical period of the war. But the British attitude to the Muslim demand for Pakistan was unchanged as ever. In fact almost all British spokesmen still swore by the unity of India.

The Muslim attitude to the war, he added, was the same as that of Turkey—strict vigilance: Their leader, Mr. Jinnah, knew that it was stupid to blow the bugle when the army was not ready. But he assured him that as soon as the call came from him his Ministry would be the first to quit office and make all the sacrifices necessary for the achievement of their goal. At present Mr. Jinnah's position

was that by having established Ministries in five provinces it had become possible for the League organisation to be strengthened, believing as he did that possession was nine points of law.

The Frontier Premier then referred to the war and said that if the British Government was sincere in their profession that they were fighting for democracy, they must do justice to Muslim India, if they were not able to unify their own Europe, all the powers of which owe allegiance to the same religion. Sardar Aurangzeb asked, how did they expect two different nations—Hindu considering the Muslims as untouchables—to come together. Sweden and Norway stand together on the map of Europe but we are two separate countries. Taking these views into account the Muslims in the areas in which they were in majority have a right as a free and independent nation.

LIMIT TO PATIENCE

Sardar Aurangzeb Khan proceeding said that there was a limit to patience. Many promises by the British Government remained unfulfilled, but now conditions were different. If possession is the nine points of law, the Muslim League, he said, has already captured and is ruling over the provinces which come

into the scheme of Pakistan. The Frontier Premier added that the Muslims were not only fair and just to the minorities, but we have been generous to them. In Pakistan the conditions of the minorities would be such as to attract even the Hindus from Hindu India to come and live in Pakistan.

Our Hindu brethren object to the name of PAKISTAN, they are afraid of it, I wish to inform them that there is no danger lurking in it. Just like a place where dates grow, it is called Nakhlistan or a place where Baluchis live it called Baluchistan, and where Hindus live it is called Hindustan in the same way where Muslims live should be called Pakistan, so our Hindu brethren have nothing to fear from it. I wish to assure them that in Pakistan all the religious and social rites of Hindus will be well looked after and protected so that they become happy and contented and prefer to live in Pakistan.

Muslims who wish to attain Pakistan, I wish to assure them that they will have to strive and work hard for it. It will not be given to them by Hindus, or by the English, they will have to seize it in order to get it. This committee of action has been made, it will go in all such matters of importance.

Concluding he said : " The day of reckoning is coming and when the call comes from Mr. Jinnah to us to get out and fight for

Pakistan, we shall not falter. If we want Pakistan we should not rely upon the British Government or the Hindus, but we should rely upon the inherent strength and obey the orders of Qaid-i-Azam.

PREPARE FOR SACRIFICES

Khan Bahadur Shaikh Karamat Ali, M.L.A. (Punjab), Member, Working Committee, All-India Muslim League, supporting the resolution said that the issue of Pakistan had been before the public for a long time now and the Hindu community should realise that Pakistan meant their freedom also. He urged the Muslims to be prepared to make any sacrifice for the attainment of Pakistan. He said that the appointment of the committee of action as envisaged in the resolution before the house was the first step in the preparation for the struggle that was shortly to come for the achievement of Pakistan. The committee would take stock of the whole situation and then prepare the Muslims for direct action. It was no use appealing to either the Hindus or the British. The British Government would never care for their appeals. "If you lick John Bull," he said, "he will kick you. But if you kick him he will lick you." And so what was required was force and force was the result of organisation.

"We have not so much against the Hindus as we have against the Englishman ; he is not practising half as much tolerance as the Muslim kings practised against the Hindus in India. With this fact in view the Hindu is erring if he thinks he can find a more congenial friend in the British than the Muslims. We fully know that the Hindu has never gone without British patronage, and yet he is always accusing Muslims of it. The Hindu should remember that if he will not have faith in Mussalmans he will never succeed in his war for freedom. The resolution that the Congress passed in August, 1942, was in reality not aimed at the British, in fact it was a serious onslaught against the Mussalmans of this country."

Concluding he said : " When time comes my province—the Punjab - will not lag behind in any respect. No Mussalman has ever tolerated to live a life of disgrace."

The Hon'ble Mr. Abdur Rab Nishtar, Minister, N.-W. F. P., then rose to further support the resolution. He said the Committee of Action would build and increase the inherent strength of the Muslims. They could not rely on the support of anyone else but should continue their struggle alone till victory was achieved. Mr. Nishtar added that the days of negotiations and petitioning had gone and the Muslims should be prepared to make any sacrifice that might be required for achieving

their goal. He warned the Hindus "not to fall in the trap of an All-India Federation, which, he asserted, would only mean the continued subjection of both the communities."

"There was a time," he said, "when Muslims of this country did not know their future or their goal but now they have one, therefore in the provinces where they are in majority they should be given full independence.

"Time is now ripe that we should begin to carry out a constructive programme. We have decided our goal—Pakistan. Regardless of Hindu assistance, we should, relying solely upon our own powers and efforts, work out our salvation and should develop the spirit of self-reliance. We should ignore the Hindu cry that Muslims do not deserve Pakistan. Hindus wish to keep us under their yoke of slavery by the help of the British force, and wish to deprive us of our dues. We will never agree to it."

The General Secretary then put the resolution to vote, and it was carried unanimously, (loud and prolonged cheers, and shouts of "Qaid-i-Azam Zindabad").

FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Mr. Z. H. Lari, of the United Provinces, moved the second resolution. Its full text is :—

"Whereas, as the first step towards consoli-

dating the strength of the Muslims of Pakistan areas and preparing them for the heavy and onerous responsibilities inherent in the status of an independent sovereign state, the All-India Muslim League has, with the support and co-operation of the Muslims, succeeded in establishing its Governments in all the Pakistan provinces, which has naturally opened up vast opportunities to the Muslim representatives in the Assemblies and Cabinets for service to their people in the provincial sphere of activities like education, agriculture, irrigation, providing with facilities for labour, economic holdings and fair rent for tenants, etc., and whereas it is acutely realized that neither the people nor the provincial states which have for long been denied opportunities for a fair and natural development due to historical, political and in some instances communal considerations will be able to ameliorate their lot to any appreciable degree or effectively function as a state without a gigantic and co-ordinated drive in the field of economic reconstruction and state industrialisation, this session of the All-India Muslim League hereby authorises the President to appoint a committee with powers to prepare a comprehensive scheme for a five years programme for the economic and social uplift: state industrialisation in Pakistan zones, for the introduction of free primary basic educa-

tion, reform of land system, stabilisation of rent, security of tenure, improvement in the condition of labour and agriculture and control of money lending. The Committee shall submit its report as early as possible and an interim report not later than June 1944 to the Working Committee for necessary action thereon."

The mover suggested appointment of a committee to formulate a five-year plan for the economic and social uplift of the Muslims and industrialisation in Pakistan zones. He said that all the Pakistan provinces now had Muslim League Ministries, but in spite of this the Muslims in those areas were still backward, both educationally and economically. He stressed the importance of agriculture in the national economy of those areas. The need of the hour, he said, was to abolish the class of big zamindars and protect the rights of the kisans.

Mr. Lari divided the resolution in four main parts:

1. Solid and firm Muslim ministries should be established with the help of the Muslims in their majority provinces.

2. A practical programme should be chalked out for the economical and industrial advancement of the Muslims in India.

3. An extensive plan should be made for the educational and general uplift of the Muslims.

4. A five-year plan for the industrial development of Pakistan provinces should be adopted.

Explaining the establishment of ministries the mover laid stress on the point that the aim was not to gratify the ruling lust of few individuals, but to improve the social, educational, and economical condition of the proletariate. He demanded that the elementary education should be made FREE and COMPULSORY, so that every inhabitant of Pakistan is showered with the blessings of Education. The Muslim League does not wish to keep on with the kind of education imparted by the British. We will arrange our own curriculum in the way ordered by Holy Quran, and as suits us best according to the times.

Talking about Industries, he said that we want to establish State Industries, so that the labourers do not have only to live upon their sweat-money. To find ways and means of achieving all this will be the duty of this Committee. He said today all the provinces in Pakistan have Muslim League ministries but in spite of the League being in power in those areas, the Muslims were still backward both educationally and economically. He hoped that the committee to be appointed would go through the various questions relating to the uplift of the Muslims and make suitable recommendations.

"You are no doubt aware that the biggest

portion of population of this sub-continent lives in villages. Our kisans are in a bad plight, they never get any education or social upliftment. Our big landlords are the creation of British mechanism and the Muslim League does not desire to back them. We have to think ways of lowering land taxes, so that the poor kisan gets an opportunity of improving his lot. We desire to remove his restlessness so that he can enjoy the fructus of his land in peace and prosperity. Our committee will work out plans how a tiller of soil can get the best from his rights. The foundation of all this will be laid down upon Islamic principles. In all our schemes and actions benefit of the proletariate will ever be kept in sight."

The Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin, Education Minister, Bengal, seconding the resolution, said that nowhere in the world was the standard of living so low as in India and none could bring about a millennium by merely preparing a comprehensive plan. In order to know the cure they should first ascertain the disease. The disease was political subjugation and so there could be no economic progress unless this subjugation was removed. There was no short cut to the desired millennium and their first duty therefore was to win independence and Pakistan simultaneously.

Continuing Mr. Tamizuddin said that if the Hindus really wanted to have independence

for India they should join hands with the Muslim League. If they were not prepared to do so one should conclude that it was the Hindus who were standing in the way of the independence of the country.

LIQUIDATING ILLITERACY

Mr. Tamizuddin added that the liquidation of illiteracy was of foremost importance. But he was afraid that not much could be done in that direction also so long as India remained a subject country. The Bengal Minister then referred to the new world conditions that may emerge after the war was won and the need for a comprehensive economic and social plan. It was, therefore, quite opportune that a committee should at once undertake the task of planning ahead and draw up schemes for the future.

'LITERACY DRIVE'

Secondly, the promotion of literacy was of prime importance in any scheme of improvement. "The essential necessitv is the removal of illiteracy. We shall not be able to do much without funds. The essential industries should be run by the State and there should be complete industrialisation of the country. We shall not be able to create conditions under

which the State can own all the essential industries unless we are able to get our independence. Money can come from the same source from which it came in Soviet Russia." He hoped that the committee that would be appointed would be given effect to at least certainly in a free India.

ALL-ROUND PROGRESS SOUGHT

Mr. Hamid Nizami supporting the resolution said that it was necessary to pass a resolution for the sake of the all-round progress of Muslims in the entire Pakistan area. The Muslim League, he said, must show to the people that it was an organisation not of landlords, zamindars and jagirdars but a body devoted to the cause of the labourers and the peasants who formed the majority in the body politic. The resolution sought to make the Muslims self-sufficient and they would not have to rely for anything on Hindu India.

The setting up of Muslim ministries did not mean that friends and relatives of the Ministers be provided with lucrative jobs. The Ministers were there to serve the people especially the poor.

"Muslims have now reached that stage of organisation where we must think seriously over the future programme so that we take full advantage of all our moves. Our Qaid-i-Azam

in his Presidential address only last night pointed out that our national unity has become known all over the world. In other words the Indian Muslims have united to achieve their goal—Pakistan.

"Mussalmans are a nation of poor people. We must therefore first attend to the demands of our poorer brethren; we have to think of their needs, we have no time now for attending to the rich landlords. Let us open all doors of the All-India Muslim League, so that poor people and the proletariate can enter it and realise that joining the League is one and the only panacea of their needs. I would request the workers of the League to go amongst the poor and give them relief; 90% of our Muslim brethren are poor people. Without bringing them into its pale our League cannot succeed truly in its aims.

"Let League influence be used for the poor as well. The Hindu always says that he does not help the British, but in the present war 99% of big War material supply contracts have been taken and fulfilled by the Hindu. Is it not a live proof of his helping the British in War efforts?"

PRESIDENT COMMENDS RESOLUTION

Mr. Jinnah himself next commended the resolution. He said that responsibility of selecting the personnel of the committee was his,

The experience of such committees in the past, said Mr. Jinnah, had been that people came forward merely for the sake of publicity. After their appointment they hardly did any work. He would not undertake a committee under such conditions. He asked members of the League to come forward who were prepared to carry out strenuous tasks—men confident, capable and fully devoted to the task entrusted to them.

The report, added Mr. Jinnah, should be submitted to the Working Committee within six months and members should be prepared to devote their whole time to their work. He would choose the personnel of the committee from the names received by him.

The President then put the resolution to vote, and it was carried unanimously amidst loud cheers and shouts of "Qaid-i-Azam Zindabad."

SATYARATH PRAKASH

The house then took up the following resolution on Satyarath Prakash:

The session of the All-India Muslim League invites the attention of the Central Government as well as of the provincial governments to those chapters of the late Swami Dayanand's book 'Satyarath Prakash,' which contain objectionable, insulting and provocative re-

marks against the Holy Prophet Muhammad (Peace be on Him) and other founders of religions and emphatically demands that the said governments should proscribe these chapters and also prosecute the publishers of these chapters under the revelant Section of I. P. S. with a view to securing effective prevention of such literature."

Moving the resolution Professor Malik Inayatullah of Lahore said that since the beginning of Islam, Muslims had never made offensive remarks against any religion. It was a pity that at a time when every one wanted to respect other peoples' religious susceptibilities, the chapters in Satyarath Prakash were allowed to remain untouched. Muslims had no objection to those chapters in Satyarath Prakash which defined the religious precepts of the Arya Samaj. But they could not tolerate any further the continuance in this book of chapters 12, 13 and 14, which were condemned by Muslims all over India.

At this stage, the speaker wished to quote certain passages from the chapters in question, whereupon Mr. Jinnah got up and said: "These passages are so objectionable, that I do not want any publicity to be given to them."

Haji Ali Akbar Shah of Hyderabad (Sind) seconding the resolution said he was glad that the agitation against the *Satyarath Prakash* first began in Hyderabad (Sind). He insisted

that all copies of the book should be seized by the Government of India.

He declared that a Muslim, however cowardly he may be, will never hesitate to give his very life if his Prophet (O. H. B. P.) is insulted in any way.

Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni, while supporting the resolution, said that even Mahatma Gandhi had written in "Young India" that so long as *Satyarath Prakash* was extant, there could be no communal unity in India. Muslims, he said, were prepared to make any sacrifice to see that the objectionable chapters were proscribed.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

The house then adjourned till next morning.

THE LAST OPEN SESSION

The third and the last open session of the All-India Muslim League was held on Sunday, the 26th December, 1943, in Haroonabad Pandal at 10-30 a. m. The huge pandal, measuring 700 feet by 380 feet, was packed from end to end long before the session was due to commence. Again today at least 100,000 people including those on the dais were present. There were special purdah arrangements for ladies, but quite a large number of them were seen sitting on the open dais.

As usual the proceedings of the day commenced with the recitation of verses from the Holy Quran.

Anwar Ali Qureshi then recited a new Urdu poem that he had composed for the occasion.

At 11 a.m. Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the Qaid-i-Azam, entered the pandal as usual accompanied by the two bodyguards with drawn swords, and Miss Fatima Jinnah, as well as Hon'ble Mr. G. M. Syed, and others.

ANNUAL REPORT

At the very outset, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali

Khan, General Secretary of the League, submitted to the session the annual report of the League. In a review of the activities and progress of the League during the year under review the Nawabzada said :—

" We met last April, 1943, at Delhi. On that occasion the Qaid-i-Azam, in the Presidential address, extended fresh invitation to Hindu leadership to come to terms with the League to solve the deadlock resulting from the failure of the Cripps Mission and to put joint efforts for the liberation of India. What Mr. Jinnah obviously meant was that if there were definite indications that Mr. Gandhi had really changed his heart and was now willing to withdraw his August resolution which was tantamount to a pistol aimed at the heart of Muslim India and if he was prepared to base negotiations on acceptance of fundamental rights of self-determination of Mussalmans, he could write to Mr. Jinnah direct and the British Government would dare not stop such a letter.

GANDHI'S TRICKERIES

" Now instead of adopting a straightforward course with a view to solving the deadlock Mr. Gandhi resorted to trickeries for landing Mr. Jinnah into fruitless trouble. He wrote to say as it transpires from the Government communique that he would like to see Mr. Jinnah.

There was no indication whatsoever that he had now decided to give up his inimical policy towards Mussalmans and was prepared to recognize their fundamental rights. The game, however, could easily be seen through by the Qaid-i-Azam who proved too seasoned to fall a prey to such machinations. The Hindu press now came up as usual with their taunts, sarcasms and used all sort of mischievous remarks against the Qaid-i-Azam with a view to disrupting the solidarity of the Mussalmans. Thank God, the vicious contrivances could not shake the confidence which the 100 million Mussalmans reposed in their beloved leader."

FOOD CRISIS

He further said : " This political deadlock on the one hand and the calamities raging in the country on the other engaged the full attention of the Muslim League. The Muslim League's Civil Defence Committee set up by the League did all in their power to help the people in whatever manner they could. Prices began to shoot up too high to be within the reach of the average man ; commodities began to disappear from the markets and certain parts of India, specially Bengal, were actually in the grip of the most disastrous famine in living memory. The Civil Defence Committee toured in the affected areas. Maulana Jamal

Uddin Abdul Wahid Sahib, Joint Secretary, and myself made extensive tours and devised ways and means to provide such relief as was possible. The Qaid-i- Azam personally appealed to the Mussalmans throughout India to rise to the occasion and I am glad to say that they responded to the appeal with enthusiasm and generosity. The Muslim Chamber of Commerce rendered great services in this connection and deserves the heartiest congratulations of Mussalmans of India. The Bengal Muslim League Relief Committee are also up and doing, but the tremendous calamity which has overtaken the province is extremely baffling. However, the Muslim League Ministry in the province handicapped though it is due to the very limited powers it possesses, is sparing no pains to ameliorate the condition of the masses and to prevent further recurrence of such a disastrous calamity.

BY-ELECTIONS

Referring to the by-elections he said: "The Muslim League had also to fight a number of by-elections in Bengal, the N.-W. F.P. & Sind. Thank God, the League has achieved cent per cent success in all these elections and defeated the opponents by overwhelming majorities. These elections have furnished further proos if any were still required that Mussalmanf

throughout India stand as a solid body behind their beloved leader and under the banner of the All-India Muslim League which is their only representative organisation. Elections in the Frontier Province especially proved to the hilt that the vicious propaganda carried by the Hindu Press and Hindu organisation that the Frontier people follow the Congress was entirely mischievous.

Success in these election campaigns is largely due to the untiring efforts of Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan Sahib, his colleagues & Maulana Abdul Wahid Jamal Mian Sahib and I am deeply grateful to them. We have now got Muslim League Ministries in the Punjab, N.-W. F.P., Sind, Bengal and Assam provinces which cover almost entire Pakistan area. Is anything more required to prove beyond every shade of doubt that Mussalmans of India stand for the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League and have absolute confidence in the leadership of the Qaid-e-Azam.

COWARDLY ATTACK ON Mr. JINNAH

"In July last the entire Muslim India was shocked to know that a dastardly attack had been made on the life of the Qaid-e-Azam, I am pained to say, by one who professed to be a Mussalman. When I appealed to Mussalmans

to observe Thanks-giving Day on August 13, 1943, the whole Muslim India responded to the appeal and the day was observed with the deepest enthusiasm throughout India thus furnishing another proof how dear Mussalmans hold their Qaid-e-Azam and what confidence they have reposed in his leadership.

OUR IDEAL

"There can be no denying the fact that we have now reached the stage where we have one definite ideal, one leader, one platform and one flag. Now the next step would be how to achieve that ideal? Can we achieve our ideal depending upon the goodwill of the British or the Hindus. Nay, certainly not. We have to depend upon the inherent strength of the Mussalmans which has got to be consolidated, mobilized and used judiciously and with statesmanship and foresight.

"The Mussalmans of India are now wide awake. They are moving forward with their heads erect and eyes open and I am sure that God willing the day is not far off when their firm determination and untiring efforts, willing sacrifices, disciplined and organised action under courageous and inspiring leadership of the Qaid-e-Azam will secure for them their cherished goal of Pakistan."

After the adoption of the annual report the

house agreed to a number of amendments including one setting up a central parliamentary board.

FOOD POLICY

The Hon'ble Mr. Hussain Imam then put the following resolution before the house:—

"This Session of the All-India Muslim League is greatly perturbed by shortage and rising prices of all necessaries of life throughout the country and is of the view that the present position is primarily due to the policy pursued by the Central Government during the last four years.

"This session places on record its considered opinion that immediate, comprehensive and effective price control of all other necessaries of life and procurement and rationing thereof is an absolute necessity and also upon Central and Provincial Government to introduce the same forthwith."

The Hon'ble Mr. Hussain Imam moved a resolution demanding immediate, comprehensive and effective price control on necessaries of life and rationing of essential commodities. Mr. Hussain Imam criticised the Government of India for not taking effective steps to prevent profiteering, hoarding and to arrange for the proper distribution of foodgrains. Inflation was

largely responsible for the present distress and Mr. Hussain Imam urged for taking effective steps to rescue poor people who had been affected adversely.

Mr. Hussain Imam, said that unless the Government of India took energetic steps they would not be able to achieve anything in view of the fact that trade and industry were very well organised in this country. By passing this resolution, he said, the League would be standing by, and fulfilling its duties to the masses.

The mover of the resolution declared that the controls all over the country are mere in name; we see their effect nowhere on the poor. Last year there was control on wheat, no sooner the tiller sold his lot, and had no more left in his hand, the Government immediately raised the control, with the result that the capitalists nicely feathered their nests. The same thing happened with rice; cloth is now going through the same routine. Poor people are suffering in each case.

When something comes to market in large quantities, it is usual that its price falls, it is an economic principle of supply and demand. Today the market is simply glutted with money —I mean currency notes—with the result that the value of a rupee is barely three annas today. Government's power of purchase has greatly increased, and people's power of purchase has greatly reduced. Now the only way

to save ourself at the present situation is to establish control on everything, and undue profiteering should be stopped. The commercial community is organised, they easily extort any facility they want from the Government, while the poor man is a sufferer in each case. We want that the capitalists should not get undue advantage of the poor in this crisis. It is the vested interests that are to be blamed.

Concluding he said, " We want justice, we do not want any party to flourish through the misery of the other. Poor and the middle classes should not suffer.

Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayat Ullah, the Sind Premier then rose to second the resolution and putting forward a spirited defence of the Sind Ministry's Food policy, spoke for about fifty minutes. He particularly resented the charge that the Sind Government were out to win their favour at the expense of the vast majority of producers and consumers. He said that exactly the opposite was the case. Our critics seem to forget that the Sind Government had the courage to turn down the Government of India's open invitation to drop price control which was tantamount to giving a free hand to exploit and make money at the expense of the consumer. If the Sind Government had done so, then truly they could have been accused of Zamindari domination.

"I am proud of my Ministry," said Sir

Ghulam Hussain, and added that when Lord Wavell came to Karachi, he told the Viceroy that if Mr. Amery found fault with the Provincial Governments then he (Sir Ghulam Hussain) would have to reply to Mr. Amery, explaining how the measures proposed by the Sind Government were intended to benefit the cultivators and consumers and not the 400 or so Zamindars.

Sir Ghulam Hussain pointed out that in Sind the landless cultivator got 50 per cent. of the produce to himself. Therefore, he stood to benefit from any rise in the price of grain; but the condition precedent was that crop should not pass out of his hands. That was the crux of the situation. The cultivator could not hold on to his crop for long. "I am telling the cultivator," said Sir Ghulam Hussain, "do not sell before I return from Delhi." Sir Ghulam Hussain said that the cultivators in previous years had suffered greatly due to low prices of produce and now when they were asking for a little more an outcry was being raised. It was but fair that the cultivators should get relief.

Speaking about the control Sir Ghulam Hussain said, "Who is responsible for this man made famine in India? It is the irresponsible Government at the Centre that is responsible for this famine. When we are short of supplies, we are to control and commandere. We were

the first to introduce control. Centre demanded decontrolling, we refused because we were right, with no control you cannot commandere. I wish to inform my critics that we wish to do good for the whole of India. I will explain to you how the Central Government is at fault. We have some powers, the Centre wants to take away these powers. But to-day the Centre knows that they are in the wrong. We cannot sacrifice the majority of poor farmers of Sind at the cost of pleasing the Centre.

When Lord Wavell came here, I told him plainly, that the Secretary of State should not attack us, if there is no control you will not be able to solve the food problem. We knew there was not enough foodgrains in the country, and it was the duty of the Central Government to keep foodgrain in control.

It would have been a very easy matter for the capitalists if Free Trade was in the country. The capitalists would have purchased the entire stock of foodgrains, and then sold it to consumers at higher prices. In that case they had their remedy at the court if you had taken their grain by force.

We had established control in Sind of our own accord, no one had forced us to do so; we did not care much for big landlords, in short we did what we thought was the best thing for the Province. Even at that time the Centre demanded us to decontrol but we refused

plainly. Then the Centre threatened us, but we refused to fall in with their wishes thereby proving that we had sided the poor. Even though the Centre had full power, they could not fix the ceiling price of our Kharif Crop. The Centre wants to break my Ministry, and want the Zamindars, (who have voted for me to become a minister), to fight with me, accordingly I have told my farmers that they should not sell their foodgrains up to 6th of January. We have increased the land taxes, the farmers expenses have gone up, the price of their produce also must go up at least as high as that of the Punjab.

I am doing all this not to help a few big landlords, but to better the conditions of poor tiller of the soil. When the whole world is earning why should not poor people earn a bit of what they deserve rightly. We have made a present of 2 lacs of Rupees to Bengal in the form of reduced prices of rice sold to them. Who else has made such a gift to Bengal?

BENGAL PREMIER EXPLAINS

Sir Nazimuddin, the Bengal Premier, who supported the resolution sincerely thanked the military and the whole country for the great help and practical sympathy they had shown to Bengal in her time of trial. He said the Muslim

League Ministries had always worked for the masses and not the rich. While the Ministries wanted to control the price of agricultural produce the control of other necessities of life must go hand in hand. The Ministries had been falsely accused of ignoring the interests of the masses or of procrastination. Actually speaking it was the Government of India that had so far been the supporters and protectors of vested interests.

WARNING

Dealing with the Aman crop in Bengal, Sir Nazimuddin said it was essential to get hold of the aman crop in order to meet the situation better. But the Central Government was advocating a policy which may frustrate the object of getting hold of the aman crop in Bengal this year.

The Bengal Ministry had gone on with their schemes in this connection, but objections were raised by a member of the Government of India only a few days ago. If those objections were not quickly withdrawn there might be great difficulty in the procurement of the Aman crop, Sir Nizamuddin warned.

GRUESOME PICTURE

The Bengal Premier then painted a grave

picture of the conditions in rural Bengal. Although the famine was being overcome, the situation from the point of view of clothing and health was giving cause for anxiety. In many villages as much as 50 per cent of the population had been stricken down by malaria which was of a most virulent type. The lack of quinine and paucity of doctors added to the complexity of the problem. The Bengal Premier appeals to doctors in all parts of the country to come forward to serve the people of Bengal. No less than 500 more doctors were needed. His Province would give good salaries and conditions of service.

Dealing with the financial side of relief, Sir Nazimuddin said that the situation with which Bengal was faced was an extraordinary one. Her distress was undoubtedly due to war conditions. The Financial burden or relief should, therefore, be borne by the British Government and the Government of India and it would be unfair to saddle the Provincial Government with it. There was a tremendous task ahead and a colossal amount would be needed for the rehabilitation of the stricken districts. The urgent need now was not food but medicines, clothing and blankets.

SIR NAZIMUDDIN REFUTES SAVARKAR'S BASELESS CHARGE

Sir Nazimuddin took the opportunity to issue

an emphatical denial of a statement issued by Mr. Savarkar that conversions of starving Hindus had taken place. There was not an iota of truth in Mr. Savarkar's statement, said Sir Nazimuddin and added that neither Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee nor any Hindu Sabha leader had mentioned such a thing to him either directly or indirectly. It is extraordinary, Sir Nazimuddin concluded, that a responsible leader of a section of the Hindus should give currency to such a baseless charge.

Sir Nazimuddin spoke for about twenty five minutes in his inimitable style. After which the Hon'ble Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhri Minister from Assam seconded the resolution and spoke for about five minutes and said food problem was getting very acute and to cope with the present situation the resolution placed before them was of great importance.

Then the resolution was put to vote and passed unanimously (followed by shouts of "Pakistan Zindabad").

FRESH PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS

The next resolution that was proposed by Qazi Mohammed Issa, the President of Baluchistan Muslim League, was about Fresh Provincial Elections and read as follows:—

"This meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League calls upon the Govern-

ment of India to convey to the British Parliament to review their policy of staying elections of Provincial and Central Legislature during the pendency of the war. This policy had led to the reduction of Provincial Legislature to a position where they are rapidly getting out of touch with public opinion and can no longer be said to be representatives of the true views and sentiments of the people."

The proposer read the text in English and then translated it in Urdu for the benefit of those that did not understand English. He said: "The last elections took place in 1937, at that time the League had no life in it. In the last seven years the League has become a live body. Normally the elections should have taken place in 1942, but the lives of both the Provincial and the Central Assemblies are being extended. The reasons given for not holding fresh elections is War. Is it right? If the reason given is right then why elections are being held in other parts of the world? Why do not they prove a hinderance in the so called way of war effort? U.S.A., Canada, South Africa, and in fact all over the world elections are being held; then is it only an excuse, and at that a lame one that is being put to us to put us off. War conditions do not stand in the way of holding elections. This policy of procrastination was harmful to the Mussalmans. In 1937, the League had not expanded; it was not organised as it is

today ; at that time it had no definite aim. In the last seven years, under the unfaltering and wide guidance of our Qaid-e-Azam it has become powerful, therefore in the present condition it is imperative that fresh elections should take place, and the assemblies become the true representatives of the electorates.

To-day the conditions have changed, Muslim League has a Goal—Pakistani before it. She wants to achieve it. Nearly Fifty by-elections have been fought throughout India, and baring one place the victory has been in each case for the League candidate. This clearly indicates that the time is now ripe when fresh elections must take place. Muslim mentality in each province has greatly changed and become Pakistan minded. It has become clear like day light upon the world that the Indian Mussalman has now become aware of his rights, and therefore wants his due.

We wish to tell the Government that, " the extension you are giving to the lives of these assemblies, in other words it means that you are only prolonging your hold on this country. Such state of affairs should forthwith be terminated, therefore we demand that fresh elections should take place."

Then concluding his speech Qazi Issa said, from the Fifty by-elections you have seen which party is fit to represent your rights, if you all agree with me please support this

resolution with a unanimous voice. The New government that will be formed in these provinces after the fresh elections will be the real Islamic Government.

Mr. Yahya Bakhtiyar from Baluchistan then seconding this resolution said, " Elections mean that the true representatives of the electorates should sit in the assemblies so that they can defend the rights of their electorates. The present assemblies in the true sense of the constitution are not at all true representatives of the present condition. Therefore it is essential that fresh elections should take place, so that the Government of the country should run as the voter wants it. The only reason for the postponement of elections in India was to continue rule under Section 93; war conditions had not stood in the way of other parts of the Dominions, why should it stand in the way of War efforts in this country? Why should other parties in the country be penalised for the mistakes of the Congress.

The resolution was further seconded by Shaikh Abdus Salam, President Delhi Province Muslim League. The supporter said, " When the Government in this country can undertake new schemes, can dabble in commerce, can establish rationing system, do not they prove a hinderance in the way of war efforts? It will be essential to have census of houses for the effective establishment of ration-

ing scheme? Then why this lame excuse of hinderance in war efforts. As a matter of fact the Government does not want true representatives of the people to sit in the assemblies."

For further support of the resolution Raja Ghazanfar Ali, the Parliamentary Secretary Punjab Government, stepped forward, and said that in one way this resolution is of very great importance. I do not want to second this resolution in a usual formal manner, but I second it very sincerely. When last elections took place in 1937, the aims the League had before it were quite different to what they are to-day. Therefore it is only fair to the League that fresh Elections should be held. To make this resolution a successful one, great and in fact supreme efforts will have to be made. Leagues in each province will have to get their provincial Governments to agree to this resolution that the present assemblies are not the true representatives of the proletariate. Only a fresh election could correctly reflect the opinion of the Muslim India, which stood solidly on Pakistan.

Then the resolution was put to vote and passed unanimously.

APPEAL TO ALLIES

The next resolution was then put forward by Syed Zakir Ali, the Secretary Defence

Committee. He first read out the resolution in English and then translated it in Urdu for the benefit of those who could not follow it. The full text of the resolution is as follows:—

SYSTEM OF MANDATES

"This Session of the All-India Muslim League urges with all the emphasis at its command upon His Majesty's Government in particular and other Allied powers that the territories recently released from the control of Italy, viz., Ceranaica, be not handed back to Italian Government but they would be constituted independent sovereign states.

"This Session is further of opinion that the vicious system of mandates should be abolished once for all and the countries of which the mandates were held by Great Britain and France, viz., Palestine, Syria and the Lebanon will be restored to the people of the countries to set up their own sovereign Governments in these territories.

"Having regard to the oft-repeated declarations by the United Nations that they seek to liberate subject nationalities, this session demands that the United powers should urge France to liberate Morocco, Algeria and Tunis."

The proposer of the resolution said, "The resolution is quite clear. In Atlantic Charter

it was clearly stated that the countries that will be liberated from the Axis Powers will be allowed to become free nations. It now becomes incumbent upon the Allies to liberate those countries and not to return them to Italy."

About Morocco, the speaker wanted that it should be no more under any mandate. About Lebanon and Syria he demanded that these too should be freed from French mandate. (Both these places have since been declared free from French mandate.)

"British have made so many promises and and since none of them have been fulfilled we have little faith left in them. If the Government will not listen to the united voice of Muslim India, the whole world will know, and the war will not be won for the allies."

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Jemal Mian Firangi Mahalli, the Joint Secretary, All-India Muslim League. He said: "We are slaves, we are asking for freedom, we are ourselves seeking freedom from the British, in such a status what else can we do but to request for freedom for our co-religionists. As long as we will not be free, and as long as we have not achieved our Pakistan, no one will listen to us; our cry will be a voice in the wilderness. If we wish to help our brethren in attaining their freedom we should first be free ourselves, and then we will be in a position to enforce our

demands by sheer power."

After this the resolution was put to vote and passed unanimously. (Followed by long cheers).

ELECTION OF OFFICE BEARERS

The Hon'ble Sirdar Aurangzeb Khan the Premier of N.-W.F.P. proposed the names of Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan for the General Secretaryship and Amir Ahmad Khan, Rajah of Mahmudabad for Treasurership. Mr. Yusuf Haroon seconded the names.

TRIBUTE TO NAWABZADA

In putting the proposition to vote Mr. M.A. Jinnah described Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan as "my right hand." He, the Nawabzada had "worked and served" day and night and none could possibly have an idea of the great burden he shouldered. Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, Mr. Jinnah continued, commanded the universal respect and confidence of the Mussalmans. Though a Nawabzada, he was a thorough proletarian and he hoped other Nawabs in the country would follow his example. Mr. Jinnah paid a tribute to the General Secretary for the services he had rendered to the League during the last seven years and wished him a long life of service to the community.

Mr. Jinnah referred to the Muslim paper "Dawn" which was founded a year back and added, had it not been for his supervision, day and night hard labour, the paper would not have attained the success which it has achieved in such a short period. Nawabzada in reply thanked Mr. Jinnah and said, "I have devoted my life to the cause of the country and the nation, and I pray that I may be strong and firm in the discharge of my duty."

The election of the joint secretaries was postponed till the next meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League.

JINNAH'S CONCLUDING SPEECH

Winding up the proceedings of the session, Mr. M.A. Jinnah expressed his satisfaction at the magnificent success of the meeting. He paid a tribute to Mr. Yusuf Haroon, the General Secretary and Mr. G.M. Syed, Chairman of the Reception Committee respectively and to the other members and workers of the Committee for their untiring efforts which had made the session a great success.

Mr. Jinnah cordially thanked the delegates for the great success of the session. Both in the presidential procession and inside the pandal he saw Muslims of every section, Khojas, Memons, Bhoras, Pathans, in fact of every class and it showed clearly that Muslims were united.

What was it that kept the Muslims united as one man and what was the bedrock and sheet-anchor of the community, asked Mr. Jinnah. "Islam," he said and added: "It is the Great Book the Quran that is the sheet-anchor of Muslim India. I am sure that as we go on and on there will be more and more of oneness—one God, one Book, one Kibla, one Prophet and one Nation.

Before the session was declared closed Mr. Yusuf Haroon, General Secretary, Reception Committee, in a short speech offered his thanks to Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, Mr. G.M. Syed, Chairman, Reception Committee, for the trouble they took for this session.

Mr. Haroon also thanked the following persons for their co-operation to make the session a success:—

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Khan Bahadur Khurro, Mr. H. M. Gazdar, Peer Ilahi Bakhsh, Sind Ministers, Syed Mahamed Ali Shah, M.L.A., who worked as volunteer, Hussain Bakhsh Shah, Ghulam Nabi Khan, Lala Shambhoo Nath, the Mayor of Karachi and several other persons, local organisations and bodies, other officials and non-officials who helped in the preparation and completion of the *pandal* and other arrangements.

NAWAB BAHADUR YAR JANG'S ORATION

Following is the English translation of the full speech of Maulvi Muhammad Bahadur Khan, President All-India States Muslim League, which he made on December 26 just after the conclusion of the 31st Session of the All-India Muslim League :—

Respected Qaid-e-Azam, ladies and gentlemen :

The session of the All-India Muslim League is over and in keeping with the old tradition, I am once again called upon to address you. I consider this session to be a momentous one, inasmuch as it has opened a new chapter in the life of the Muslim League.

Of the six resolutions passed at the session, three, as they look to me, are the most important. The first deals with the appointment of a Committee of Action, the second demands the formation of a Five-Year Planning Committee and the third urges the Central Government for General elections.

FRESH GENERAL ELECTIONS

I will not say much about the last mentioned resolution beyond saying that however much

my Punjabi friends may be indebted to the blessed soul of the late Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, if the new elections take place, in the words of Ghalib:

بھرم کھل جائے ظالم تیری قامت کی درازی کا
اگر اس طرہ پر پیچ و خم کا پیچ و خم نکلے

I will now explain at length the other two resolutions. I consider them to be the harbingers of a new era, heralds of a new dawn and an auspicious sign of the bright future of the League. I would beg leave of our Qaid-e-Azam to say in the words of Dagh:

تیور تیرے اے رشک قمر دیکھہ رھے ھیں
ھم شام سے انداز سحر دیکھہ رھے ھیں

EVOLUTION NOT REVOLUTION

The regeneration and the progress of the League is a natural process of regeneration and progress which has taken place gradually and steadily and will continue in the same manner. The Muslim League has not revolutionised our political life abruptly but has lead us slowly and steadily to our goal so that every step may carry us forward and be irrevocable. When the Qaid-e-Azam took the reins of the League in his hands, we were hypnotised by false notions and wrong ideologies Our compatriots had given us to understand that we

were a minority in spite of 10 crores. This inferiority complex had influenced every and anybody of us. The Qaid-e-Azam told us that we were not a minority, for a hundred million people cannot be called a minority. We were a Nation—a separate and self-contained Nation—whose ingredients and structure differed fundamentally from those of other nations of the world and which was founded on fundamentals that transcend geographical boundaries, race and colour.

PAKISTAN DEMAND

When this idea that we are not a minority but a nation earned the general support of the Muslims, the Qaid-e-Azam told us that the Parliamentary system of Government cannot be suitable to a country which is inhabited by two separate nations having nothing in common with each other. When this theory too became popular with the Muslims, the Qaid-e-Azam went further and gave a practical shape to Iqbal's dream by demanding the establishment of sovereign and free Muslim States in the North-West and North East of India which are predominantly Muslim zones. This demand is now popularly called Pakistan

Three years ago many of us did not even believe that Pakistan would ever be realized.

COMMITTEE OF ACTION

But the Cripps Proposals and the present

hopeful conditions have assured its early realization. More and more Muslims are now joining in our demand for Pakistan. The time has now come that the League should take a final preparatory step in this direction. At Delhi we gave our last warning to the British Government. Today the All-India Muslim League by passing the resolution of a "Council of Action" has expressed its firm determination that if Pakistan was not to be had on demand, we will have it by force.

A leader or commander of an army whose soldiers are paralysed, lame and inactive cannot hope to win any war. It is expedient for him to evacuate his true strength before raising the war cry. This Council of Action has been appointed not only to make an estimate of the League's strength in each province but also to raise new strength and reserve it for the day when our Leader would order us to march forward.

MUSLIMS' DUTY

Muslims of India, holding of public meetings, passing of resolutions and making or hearing of speeches do never revolutionise the life of any nation. So far as the stage of your purity of thought and ideology was concerned, that stage is passed. The time is for action and action alone. If you are not pre-

pared for it, do not abase Pakistan by your demand. Perhaps Dagh addressed us when he said:

نہ تھی تاب اے دل تو کیوں چاہ کی
بڑا تیر مارا اگر آہ کی

Therefore get ready and assure your cautious and fore-sighted Leader that the whole nation is with him at every stage of life.

Qaid-e-Azam, do not be disappointed. Your friend and old colleague, Iqbal, (may God bless his soul) perhaps addressed you when he said:

اے رہبر فرزانہ مایوس نہ ہو اس سے
کم کوش سہی لیکن بے ذوق نہیں ہے

A SOLEMN PLEDGE

It is possible you may not get people of sound and strong calibre from our so-called elite, but our nation is not devoid of sturdy, obedient and selfless soldiers. Allow me to offer myself in the capacity of a humble soldier for the Council of Action. I make this offer with all my heart. I solemnly pledge and bear you and the audience as my witnesses, I bear the air, the shining sun, the stars and the moon and above all, I bear God as my witness that I will sacrifice my life and everything at your command in the name of God. I assure

you that you will never find me lag behind even at the most difficult stage of our struggle.

Qaid-e-Azam, that day will be the greatest day of my life when I shall have sacrificed the last penny in my pocket and the last drop of my blood at the altar of God. (Voices from the meeting: "We are with you.")

WANTED REAL PATRIOTS

Do not make a hasty decision. I arrived at this decision after twelve years of constant thinking. For all these years I have been preparing myself. Now I am ready for action. Go and make your decision after having a look at the blooming faces of your wives and the smiling faces of your children. Make your decision after taking into account all sorts of sacrifices that you will have to make in this path. Think of all your relations, think of the ruination of your property. Many a decision of the Mussalmans which they make in a fit of passion and in imitation of others is only for the moment and ephemeral. Today we do not want those people who want to effloresce into fragrant sweet flowers on the "Tree of Millat". We want people who will kill all their desires and efface themselves into manure to strengthen the roots and trunk of the tree. We want the people who spill their own blood and give their life for the life of their nation. Those

enthusistiasts are not needed who nourish a desire for pageantry. Only those foundation stones are needed which bury themselves deep into earth to support a magnificient edifice on them. I said it yesterday and repeat it today.

ایسی کوئی دنیا نہیں افلاک کے نیچے
بے معرکہ ہاتھ آئے جہاں تخت جم و کے

The second specialty of this session is the resolution about the formation of a five years Planning Committee. As the Persian maxim goes, "happy is the man who is fore-sighted."

مرد آخر بیں مبارک بین است

Even those nations who are involved in a life and death struggle in the present global war and whose success and defeat cannot as yet be prophesied are busy today chalking out post-war plans. If, therefore, the Muslim League has also thought it fit to prepare a plan about the future progress and prosperity of Pakistan, it has taken a step in the right direction.

The achievement of Pakistan will not be so difficult as its maintenance. Your Qaid-e-Azam has proclaimed more than once that the Muslims have no right to frame the constitution and law of any one of their States. The laws governing the constitution of a Muslim are definitely laid down in the Holy Quran. There is no denying the fact that we want Pakistan for the establishment of the Quranic system of

Government. It will bring about a revolution in our life, a rennaisance, a new fervour and zeal and above all a resuscitation of pristine Islamic purity and glory. The object of this Planning Committee will be to enable the Muslims of Hindustan in general and Pakistan in particular to make their life worth living and plan their educational, social, economic and political uplift from the purely Islamic point of view. No actual revolution can take place unless an intellectual revolution preceeds it. It is therefore imperative to bring about an intellectual revolution first of all.

PRESENT EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

In the history of revolution we find that Muhammad (peace be upon him) was the only person who successfully brought about these two kinds of revolutions in only a short period of 23 years. To complete the first stage it is necessary that we pay the utmost attention to our educational system. It is only the present system of education in our country that has taught us humble servility, self-negation and absence of ambition. It was India's misfortune that our educational system was chalked out by a nation who did not only want to exploit the economic resources of this land but also wanted to have a firm grip on our heart and soul. It presented our history before us

in such a manner that we turned enemies against each other. We therefore want complete reorientation of this system of education which has killed all initiative and spirit of enterprise and co-operation amongst us. Only that system will suit us which is based on the Quran and the traditions and which would produce true Muslims.

In any system of education I attach the greatest importance to primary education. It is only primary education on which our socio-political structure is raised. This Planning Committee will chalk out a system which will not only be better than any other scheme of education but will also be revolutionising. It is your duty to help this Committee to your utmost.

ECONOMIC UPLIFT

The second important subject this Committee will deal with will be the solution of your economic problem. You know it too well that economic issues are the root cause of this war. Before the advent of Islam there was a deep division between the rich and the poor. On one side there were mounds of silver and gold while on the other were deep gaping caves of poverty. People used religion as a means to maintain this unnatural class division. Imperialism and capitalism ruled sup-

reme. When Muhammad the Prophet of God (may peace be on him) came, he mitigated all these divisions with one stroke of "La Ilaha Illallah" and brought about a perfect and natural equality between man and man. In his society, Bilal and Abu Bakr, Ammar b. Yasir and Omar were all set equal. The abolition of interest cut out at the roots of usury, the law of inheritance checked all ways to amassment and accumulation of wealth, Zakat led to the circulation of hoarded wealth and encouragement of charity wiped out all poverty and economic inequality from the soil of Arabia.

ISLAM AND COMMUNISM

But Islam's economic system does not end here. It goes much further. The Quran enunciates that land belongs to God and consequently to the Islamic state rivers, canals, forests, minerals are all state; property, no individual can have any exclusive claim on them. The system of Zakat, which is a tax on capital and not on income, is the greatest of all taxes that the modern civilized countries have levied on their people. In view of this flawless economic system, can we care to cast a look at any other system? I feel—and ardently feel—that the entry of Russia into this war on the side of the Allies has opened the door to

Communism in India and the scarcity and dearness of food have provided Communist preachers with an opportunity to raise the slogan of bread with some effect and seduce the poverty-stricken masses to embrace their faith. But I would draw the attention of Muslim youth to the fact that if Communism means to efface poverty and class distinctions and to provide bread and clothing to the poor I can call myself to be a rank Communist. But if Communism as inspired by Carl Marx's philosophy which is based on negation of God, I seek the shelter of God from it.

Islam is based on the affirmation of Unity of God. If the Muslims are relegating it to secondary importance, they are getting out of the fold of Islam. I proclaim from this rest-rum that those people should quit this pandal who base their economic system on the negation of God. I am sure that when our Planning Committee chalks out an economic system, it will be based upon the Quran.

Qaid-e-Azam!

We have understood Pakistan in this light. If your Pakistan is not such we do not want it.

(" It is a challenge to me "? said the Qaid-e-Azam smiling.)

No, Sir, I am not challenging you. I wanted to explain to the audience by this " challenge " what is the Pakistan which we visualise.

Brethren and sisters-in-Islam!

Remember, the formation of the Planning Committee is a new phase in your political life. That nation which is not well off economically and educationally can never be a great political power. Political independence with economic enslavement is the worst type of slavery. The Chief aim of the Planning Committee would be to secure your economic emancipation.

Before I conclude my speech I would like to bring it to your notice that if you want to have Pakistan in which the people inhabiting it would be mentally and physically pure, you should strive for it in right earnest and from to-day start to lead a pure life and be honest in all your dealings. Remember! Physical impurity can be removed, but it is very difficult to remove mental or spiritual impurity. Even if you achieve Pakistan, it will be of no avail and the purpose of Islam will remain unfulfilled if you continue leading impure lives. Make it a point, therefore, to be pure in and action at each and every moment. It will be the first and foremost duty of your Council of Action to purify the Pakistani soldiers for the great fight ahead. But alas, it is an undeniable fact that a soldier cannot be purified unless

each and every commander is also pure. Listen and remember what the greatest Muslim Philosopher of the present age has said :

عطار ھو رومی ھو رازی ھو غزالی ھو
کچھ ھاتھ نھیں آتا بے آہ سحر گاھی
دارا و سکندر سے وہ مرد فقیر اولے
ھو جس کی فقیری میں انداز یداللہی

(Turning round and addressing those sitting on the dais) :

اے طائر لاھوتی اس رزق سے موت اچھی
جس رزق سے آتی ھو پرواز میں کوتاھی

MEMBERS FOR COUNCIL OF ACTION APPOINTED

MR. JINNAH DELEGATES POWER

A Committee of Action of six members was appointed on December 27th by the President of the All-India Muslim League, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in terms of the main resolution passed at the session just concluded.

The committee which will function for a year will undertake immediately its task of "organising, co-ordinating and unifying the work of the Muslim League" in accordance with the programme and constitution of the League.

Mr. Jinnah has delegated to the new body a number of powers which will include power to take disciplinary action against members

and subsidiary bodies. The Committee will also operate as the Muslim League Civil Defence Committee.

The personnel of the Committee is as follows:

Nawab Ismail Khan (Chairman); Mr. G.M. Syed; Haji Sattar Essack Sait; Nawab Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot; Qazi Mohamed Isa and Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan (Convener).

Mr. Jinnah's announcement reads: "In pursuance of resolution No. 3 passed by the All-India Muslim League session held at Karachi on December 25, I appoint the following committee till the next annual session to undertake immediately the work of organising, co-ordinating and unifying the Provincial League and the entire Muslim League organisation in consonance with the constitution, rules and programme of the All-India Muslim League.

POWERS

Mr. Jinnah announced that the following powers have been delegated to the Committee as authorised by the League constitution:

To appoint or institute sub-committees for carrying out such duties and function as may be entrusted to them to control, direct and regulate all the activities of the various Provincial Leagues, strictly in consonance with the aims, objects and rules of the All-India Muslim League; to take disciplinary action against any member of League who violates

the decisions of the League or acts in contravention of its aims and objects subject to a right of appeal to the Council of All-India Muslim League; to suspend, dissolve or disaffiliate any Provincial League which fails in its duties, infringes or ignores the decisions or directions of the higher bodies and to take disciplinary action against any office-bearer of a Provincial League who fails in his duties or ignores the decisions or directions of the Working Committee or hinders the progress of the League in any manner whatsoever, subject to right of appeal.

PARLIAMENTARY BOARD

The Working Committee of the Muslim League which met on December 27th at the residence of Mr. Yusuf Haroon has appointed a Parliamentary Board of three members in pursuance of the suggestion made by Mr. Jinnah in his presidential address.

The members of the Committee are: Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, Chaudhri Khaliquzaman, and the Hon'ble Mr. Husain Imam.

After Mr. Jinnah, who presided over the meeting, had announced the appointment of the Committee of Action, the Working Committee resolved that in view of the appointment of that Committee it was not necessary to constitute a separate All-India Civil Defence Committee as its functions will also be exercised by the Committee of Action.

KARACHI SESSION IMPRESSIONS

That the Karachi Session of the All-India Muslim League was not only a grand success, but also a land-mark in the history of Muslim India was the impression of a large number of League leaders.

Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, Chairman of the Committee of Action, said: "It was successful from every point of view. Some very important resolutions were passed which when worked out would prove useful and beneficent to the Mussalmans."

"I am glad that Karachi Session has opened a way to the young Muslims to work all over the country. It was a most successful session," said Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, Premier of the N.-W.F.P. giving his impression of the League session. He added that much constructive work had been done.

Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, Premier of Sind, said that the session had been a splendid success.

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the League said: "What had been worked out was not a slogan but a plan of constructive work."

The Hon'ble Husain Imam, Member, Coun-

cil of State and Central Parliamentary Board of the Muslim League observed : " It did useful work in concentrating our attention on the need for solid constructive work in Pakistan areas. The Planning Committee will prove a very useful body if it is able to give a lead to our Ministries."

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Parliamentary Secretary to the Punjab Government said : "Karachi Session was a land-mark in our recent history. The appointment of the Committee of Action is a step for organising Muslims all over India to play their part in the coming struggle for achieving Pakistan and the constitution of the Central Parliamentary Board will bring harmony in the working of the Muslim League Parliamentary Parties in various Provincial Legislatures."

Mian Zia-ud-Din, Secretary, Frontier Muslim League felt sure that " the decisions taken at Karachi will go a long way to strengthen Mussalmans who have to play an important part in the post-war period."

PART II

1. *The Ulama Conference*
2. *The States Muslim League Conference*
3. *The Railway Muslim Employees Conference*
4. *The Sind Muslim Students Conference*
5. *The All-India Muslim Ministers Conference*
6. *The All-India Muslim Women's League*
7. *The Miscellaneous Functions*

ULAMAS' CONFERENCE

On Friday the 24th December, 1943 Ulamas from all over India met in a Conference at Karachi.

Full confidence in the leadership of Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah was expressed by the Conference which accepted the principle of Pakistan and assured Mr. Jinnah that they would be prepared to make any sacrifice, which was held in the League Subjects Committee Pandal, was presided over by Pir of Bharchandi.

Addressing the Conference Pir Bharchandi urged unity between all sections of Muslims so as to take collective action for achieving the goal of the Muslim nation. He appealed to the audience to rally round the League banner and strengthen that body which was true representative of ten crores of Muslims.

Referring to Shariat Bill passed by the Central Assembly the Pir suggested the establishment of an Ahyaul Islam to carry out certain amendments in it.

Concluding, the speaker stressed the need for raising a Baitul Mal Tax (one-fortieth of income of Muslims) for social and economic uplift of Muslim population.

The conference passed 7 resolutions.

By one resolution full confidence was expressed in the leadership of Mr. Jinnah and the conference recorded its determination to achieve Pakistan at all costs.

By another resolution it urged the League to take Legal steps to proscribe and ban "Satyarath Parkash", chapters 13 and 14 of it were held to have attacked Islam.

The conference also urged Government of Sind to appoint Kazis in each district to administer justice and deal with subjects such as marriage, divorce and succession and maintain register in this connection so as to avoid litigation.

FRIDAY PRAYERS

Mr. M.A. Jinnah offered Friday prayers in the Mosque attached to the Sind Madrasah, where over 1,000 Ulamas and Moulvis who were there in connection with the Ulama's Conference joined him. Moulvi Abdul Hamid Badauni of the United Provinces read the 'Khutba'.

After the prayers, Mr. Jinnah had a talk for a short time with Moulvi Abdul Rahman Shah, Pir of Bharchundi, who has a large following in Upper Sind.

A spokesman of the Pir told Pressmen that the Pir had pointed out to him certain aspects of co-education in schools and colleges and

urged that the League should immediately take steps to open separate colleges and schools for girls and boys. The Pir further advocated the observance of ' purdah ' by Muslim women and requested Mr. Jinnah to prevent women from sitting on the ' dais ' in the open session of the League.

Mr. Jinnah, it is learnt, assured the Pir that he would do his best to preserve Islamic tenets and carry out religious principles.

STATES MUSLIM LEAGUE SESSION

COUNCIL MEETING

Muhammad Bahadur Khan formerly Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang and Mahmood-ul-Hasan Siddiqi were unanimously re-elected President and Secretary of the All-India States Muslim League for the ensuing year at a meeting of the council held at " Haroonabad " on Friday Dec. 24, Mr. Ghulam Abbas was in the chair. Muhammad Bahadur Khan was also assigned to perform the duties of the treasurer.

Representatives from Kashmir, Kapurthala, Baroda, Hyderabad (Dn.), Palanpur, Bhadnagar, Malerkotla, Jodhpur, Udhaipur, Alwar, Bhopal, Kutch, Kolahpur and several other states were present.

Before the election Muhammad Bahadur Khan expressed his difficulties to continue as President of the All-India States Muslim League. But it was strongly opposed by the house.

Manzari Alam (Gwalior), Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas (Kashmir), Mr. Rasul Khan (Baroda), Alim Bakar (Porebunder), Moulvi Abdullah (Kolahpur), Mr. Mahmoodul Hasan (Bhopal) supported Muhammad Bahadur Khan.

A sub-committee was appointed consisting of Manzari Alam, Mr. Abdul Qadir, Mr. Rasul Khan Pathan, Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas Khan, Mr. Saghar, Mr. Ikramullah and Mr. Mahmood Siddiqi to examine and draft a resolution to be moved at the open session of the All-India Muslim League requesting that the States Muslim League be affiliated with an All-India body under Mr. Jinnah's presidentship.

Earlier Mr. Mahmood Siddiqi, Secretary, read out the annual report reviewing the year's activities and explaining how during the last four years the League had been organised in the Indian States.

OPEN SESSION

On Saturday, Dec. 25, the first open session of the All-India States Muslim League's fifth annual session was held at Haroonabad in the Pakistan Parliament. Muhammad Bahadur Khan, President was in the chair.

Moulvi Aziz Ahmad Sahib recited selected verses from the Holy Quran.

Aligarh University Band played the Muslim National Anthem. This was followed by an inspiring poem sung by Nawab Ghulam Murtaza. It ran in the following strain :—

لوگو نہ ہمیں چھیڑو طوفان مچا دینگے
محبوب کی امت ہے ہم عرش ہلا دینگے
ہم وارث جنت ہیں جاں باز بہادر ہیں
اسلام کی عظمت پر سر اپنا کٹا دینگے
ہادی جو ہمارا ہے مولائے غریباں ہے
ہم ظلم کے قلعوں کو بنیاد سے ڈھا دینگے
رہ جائے اگر تن میں اک قطرہ بھی خوں کا
ناموس شریعت پر ہم نذر چڑھا دینگے
ہم کوہ عظیمت ہیں جاں باز بہادر ہیں
رستے میں ہمالہ ہو تو ٹھوکر سے ہٹا دینگے

Mr. Rasul Khan Pathan, Chairman Reception Committee, in his address welcomed delegates from all over the Indian States. It was followed by the report of General Secretary, Mr. Mahmoodul Hasan Siddiqi after which Muhammad Bahadur Khan delivered his presidential speech.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Dealing with conditions of Muslims in the States, he specially mentioned conditions of Kashmir, Jaipur and Gwalior where Muslims' rights have not only been ignored but suppressed.

An appeal that the Government of India should appoint an independent-minded man as premier of Kashmir State who should introduce reforms and improve the lot of minorities without in anyway being influenced by

the Maharaja or the Kashmiri Pandits, was made by Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang, President All-India States Muslim League, delivering his presidential address at Haroonabad this morning.

The speaker added: "We do not want any preferential treatment for ourselves nor do we want any concession. We only want justice. If the Kashmir Government does not accept the suggestion we would urge the Political Department of Government of India to appoint such a premier in the State. He may not be a Muslim, let him be a Hindu, but he must have self-respect and unprejudiced outlook."

He warned the Kashmir Government that if their demands were not met they would not leave the issue undecided. He said that at present the All-India States Muslim League was having an eye on negotiations that Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah was carrying on with the Central Government. If the negotiations succeed, well and good, but if they failed it would chalk out a plan how best to achieve this object.

The speaker earlier surveyed the activities of the States Muslim League and its close adherence to its parent body, the All-India Muslim League. He said: "During these four years of existence we have infused political consciousness amongst State Muslims. I consider Mr. Jinnah a very lucky man. He has only to deal with one Viceroy. While we, who

are the slaves have to fight our battles on many fronts."

Referring to the States Muslims' contribution to the war, the Nawab remarked : "At the Cairo conference the Allied leaders have guaranteed the independence of as distant a land as Korea. But it is most unfortunate that similar guarantees have not been extended to Malaya, Java, Borneo and other places where there are Muslims. In a similar way the Allies have consideration for Syria. The Jewish infiltration in Palestine has been encouraged to the detriment of Arab interests."

Talking of Jaipur affairs Mr. Bahadur Khan strongly criticised the anti-Muslim attitude of Sir Mirza Ismail. After removal of Urdu as official language this is clear that Sir Mirza Ismail is crushing Muslim rights and we have not much expectations from him in the future.

"Quit" orders of Gwalior State authorities on Moulvi Manzari Alam, League leader of Gwalior, were also condemned.

Coming to the Indian deadlock, the President criticised what he called the "Bania" tactics of the Congress. Referring to the August resolution, he said that the Congress never sympathised with the lot of States Muslims. He alluded to the fact that there were many responsible Congressmen outside the prison, but they never came forward with a solution of their own.

He further criticised the federal ideal and its application to Indian States. He criticised the administration of Jaipur and Gwalior States and urged the authorities to effect reforms promptly. Giving instance of outside interference with the States he referred to the Khairpur State and said that the Mir had been deprived of the legitimate right to rule over his subjects; he had been sent to Ooty and now the administration was in the hands of the bureaucracy.

Concluding Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang appealed to the Muslims all over India to help the cause of State Muslims and thus expedite the achievement of the Muslim League goal.

The session ended in the afternoon to meet again tomorrow.

SECOND SESSION

The All-India States Muslim League Conference opened its seconod session on Sunday the 26th of December at 9 p.m. in Haroonabad Pandal. Muhammad Bahadur Khan was in the chair; and after the recital of verses from the Holy Quran the proceedings of the open session commenced.

Several resolutions were unanimously passed. In one they requested the Government of India to make available the details of the working of the scheme for merging the smaller States into

bigger ones, so as to enable the peoples of the States to give their opinion on the scheme.

The conference appointed a sub-committee to consider all aspects of the Merger Scheme with particular reference to its repercussions upon the interests of Mussalmans in the Indian States. The conference protested against the treatment of Muslim subjects in certain States and urged that Muslim subjects in such States should be given their legitimate rights.

KASHMIR SITUATION

In a resolution on Kashmir the Conference condemned "the barbarous treatment" accorded to Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, President of the All-India States Muslim League in September last and sympathised with the legitimate aspirations and demands of the Mussalmans in Kashmir. It thanked Mr. Jinnah for having taken up the Kashmir issue in his own hands and expressed full confidence in him. The conference finally declared that if no amicable settlement was arrived at, the Mussalmans of Indian States shall not fail to take steps to safeguard the demands of the Mussalmans of Kashmir.

The conference authorised its president to appoint a Ladies Sub-Committee to organise Women's States Muslim Leagues in different States.

Winding up the two days sessions Muhammad Bahadur Khan in an oration delivered in his inimitable style said :—

"A glance at you all geathered here makes me happy to the very core of my heart; I thank you all; this gives me the hope that before long the States Muslims' future will become bright, and that it will not remain as dark for long as it looks to-day. I hope that all of you who have gathered here have come here for the sake of the cause, and not merely for the sake of listening my oration.

"I have received so many resolutions to put forward from all the four corners of India, that I feel that I should put them all before you personally. Maulvi Manzar-e-Alam who has had to self impose banishment since last one and a half year, is an M.A., LL.B., and Pleader from Aligarh. Ruler's tyranny has forced him to leave his hearth and home and live out of the State and serve his community while in exile. In his case I often wonder at the mentality of the Gwalior State Council that permits the meeting to be held, but warns the president of the meeting—in this case Maulvi Manzar-e-Alam—that no sooner he will enter the state he will be arrested.

(Here the speaker read out the wordings of the resolution, and expressed regrets over the policy followed by the Gwalior Government, and demanded that the policy of repression

against the State Muslims be withdrawn.) The speaker then continued and said "During my speech yesterday I had hinted that Sir Mirza Ismail after arriving in Jaipur appointed a responsible committee to devise a scheme of reforms; it is a pity that Muslim representation is very meager on this committee, further, separate electorates should be given to the Mussalmans. The Hindu members decided in four of separate electorates and this was defeated by the Hindu Chairman by the magic of his casting vote. Yesterday in my speech I referred to the people who were consulted by Sir Mirza. These people advised him that joint electorates would not hurt the Muslims concerned. In our resolution we have only clamoured for the previliges which are our birth right.

"In Jaipur State among both the nominated and elected 64 Councillors not one is a Muslim. What a state of affairs?

"In Kapurthala, the state of Muslim affairs is a bit better and we are glad to say that in that state the Muslims not only have separate electorates but also have fair representation.

"In Jodhpur State we find some signs of discontent because there in State service the Muslims are not getting their proportionate share There was no Muslim representative appointed in the Railway Enquiry Committee.

"According to our constitution the election

for the post of Secretary and the Treasurer is held in open session. I am glad to see that you have reappointed your Secretary the same able person who worked for you last year. When we cannot establish our office in any state, we perforce arrange it on the British Indian soil.

"As regards the Treasurer, I would suggest that money matters should not be allowed to go out of my control, because when they are in my hands, money gets multiplied and turns into 150 from 100, and if allowed to go in other hands, it is spent and never replenished, hence the amount deminishes. I am willing to serve as the treasurer.

"I must thank Mr. Abdulla Haroon that he arranged for a nice office for our conference in the Pandal compound. We are grateful to All-India Muslim League, we will yet for a while have to follow them and hold our annual sessions where they hold theirs.

"Now I will turn to my yesterday's address. The resolutions passed by All-India Muslim League have one among them about Satiyarath Parkash. The very perusal of this book degrades the human eyes with shame. In this book God's beloved Prophet (O.H.B.P.) has been mentioned of in such a shameless manner that I shudder at the very thought of repeating it. All our sympathies are with the resolution, and we assure you that the states Muslims

are backward in no way, and will ever be ready to give the very last drop of their blood for the honour and good name of their Prophet. We wish that first the objectionable chapters of the book be proscribed and expunged Province-wise, and then those be proscribed by the Central Government, and last of all we will take up the matter in the States and see that those are proscribed there also.

" Muslims living in the States are years backward than their brethren in British India. They are not eager to tread the path of progress. States Muslims are lying in torper, and are totally ignorant of all that is happening in their surroundings, and know little of what is to befall them as the result of their lethargy and neglect. The first step to a national change and revolution is the mental change, and then follows the result in its wake.

" As far as I have penetrated the human nature, determination must preceed the correct feeling before correct action can be taken. You are attentive to me, you can't be so unless you concentrate with all your force and vigour. If now a snake was to appear suddenly, you would instantaneously jump up and will automatically think of killing it. In the same way my oration has the same effect upon you as the sudden appearance of a snake. When this discernment is created it naturally preceeds the thought of conquest. This explana-

tion is the exact picture of human nature. The first stage is of discernment, and the next of action. Thank God that shrewdness and discernment is gradually manifesting itself amongst the Mussalmans, but the stage of discernment has not completed yet.

"I thank all those people who are busy putting in good work in their respective States, as in the case of Jaipur, Kashmir and Kapurthala; men like Maulvi Imam-ud-Din who have passed the stage of discernment. But still there are states where we cannot get workers with that supreme quality of discernment. It is our first duty to awaken this feeling of 'Kerdar' amongst them.

"You should not feel elated because you are out of it, but you should make efforts to save your brethren from their down-trodden state. O! Muslims of India, I request you not to forget your brethren that lie rotting in States. I can see the dawn approaching for so many small states. A day will dawn when you will have to take all the Muslims of those states in your fold, they will help to increase your number and power.

پرتو خور سے ھے شبنم کو فنا کی تعلیم
مین بھی ھوں ایک عنایت کی نظر ھونے تک

"Now I address the Muslim Leaguers. Your doors are closed upon us, we have perforce to hold our deliberations separately, and always

after you have finished yours. If we hold our deliberations before you I fear my random talks might raze your wise decisions to ground. But then you have your own problems. The doors of your political palaces cannot be opened with constitutional keys, and I at least for myself cannot bear to enter from back doors.

"You have been thinking of Lybian Muslims, but your League has not thought it wise to make even a passing mention of states Muslims. Perhaps your League knows its reason better, at least I do not, so I would request you to wake up and help the States Muslims.

" While the various bodies all over India are framing their constitutions, we have framed our own policy very carefully. The name of my body is All-India States Muslim League, while the name of the body belonging to all the Mussalmans of India is All-India Muslim League. In each name you will find the word Muslim placed most prominently. This is an important point, so mark it carefully, I want to know what the word Muslim means. As long as you do not understand the word Muslim you will never reach your destination. The one who does not know his way, can never reach his destination. The word Muslim is derived from Islam, now we must fathom out what exactly the word Islam means. Its dictionary meaning is, to pay homage, or bowing down your head in obedience. Islam means to

know God, and to believe in His Book the Holy Quran.

"Brethren! we take it for granted that we are Muslims, just because we are born of Muslims and in a Muslim family, we *ipso facto* become Muslims because our parents say Kalima, we repeat it parrotwise, but the Kalima as it was given to a Mussalman and as he was made to repeat it, contains in it the greatest administrative philosophy of the world. He who has not understood the meaning of the word لا اله الا الله (La Ilaha Illallah) is totally ignorant of this philosophy.

"From one side the great Persians, from another the great Romans, and yet from another side the great Abyssinnians were despatching forces to demolish that oldest house of God the Ka'ba. At such a time a man of God comes, he is devoid of all apparent means. He is not born in Persia, but he is born in Arabia, he sees the world's administrative philosophy and lays down the foundation of the greatest democracy. Muhammad the Prophet of God with one Kalima vanquished all the Phraos and Nimroods. He established beyond doubt that if worship is due to anybody it is due to God and to Him alone, and to none but Him. Muhammad the Prophet denied the existence of all other gods prevelant and worshipped in those days.

"He was the greatest revolutionary, the second

of whom is not born yet in this world. His knowledge begins with "La" (means, No). No one is worthy of worship in this creation. "Allah" is the next word. Now let me explain to you the meaning of Allah. It is the nature of a Mussalman to be revolutionary. Think over this alone for a while, that when a Mussalman says La-Ilaha-Illallah, he means Allah Who is worthy of worship—worship again needs elucidation, it does not only mean bowing your head, like a man stands up in prayers and bows down in "Sajdah", but it means that part of obedience that is created inside one's heart, that is called worship.

"When you say that you hold such and such as your "Mabood", (the worshipped) you naturally do not wish to do anything against His desires. In this world human beings left God alone, and adopted thousands in His place; most of them were in human forms, but all of no consequence. Remember that throughout this Universe there is no god but God, and we should worship Him alone. When our Prophet spread this simple principle and raised his voice the whole of Arabia shook under it. Calls to prayers are sounded in your mosque to-day and God's name mentioned. What is the reason that when Prophet Muhamed uttered the Kalima. Abullahab wondered what had come out of Prophet's lips, that had perplexed the whole of Arabia's great men? And now

when you utter the same Kalima not one of you feels its electrifying effects. When the Prophet uttered this Kalima he meant that he could not bear to see any one take the place of God, and this attitude of his made his very own relatives inimical to him. There are no real meanings of these words when uttered by you or me because we are prepared to sell our very conscience for a few titles, or Government job, or ministerial honours. Remember there is no value in this world that can be high enough for "La-Ilaha-Illallah"

"The first question about a Muslim is, if he is really a Muslim to the very core of his heart, or if he is a Muslim in name only. I wish to see the Muslim of to-day as real Muslim to the very core of his heart, before I would care for him to practice Unity, and Organization. Can there be a greater revolution than this? I am proud of this revolution, because in the real sense I do not take it as Revolution, but a mere change for the good, of the Mussalmans. I fully know what I am talking about. Big gatherings will be held, great orations will be delivered but nothing can divert your path from steadfastness if your very foundation is laid on the solid rock of Islam, no storm can or will be able to destroy your sheet-anchor.

"Those who are without "Kirdar" or action, (or conduct), will think nothing of this great gathering. But had all this great gathering

had the elements of " action " before very long I would see this whole world turned into Muslim. Friends! all that attachment and sympathy that to-day the Indian Mussalmans have with the All-India Muslim League, is a wholesome sign, Muslim League can remedy your ills, but you cannot be sure of it till your own " Iman " and your own " Kirdar " are firm. We have two shortcomings which must be removed at all costs; first is the Educational, and the second is Social. Any nation that strengthens these two important points, automatically wins power.

" Improve your social condition, your Governments have made schools for your children, but you do not send them to be educated there. Try to increase literacy amongst your kith and kin. I know you will say that the present system of education does not include Quranic teachings. When I look at my own house I just guess what other peoples' homes must be like, our Great Prophet has advised us, nay ordered us to acquire knowledge even though it be lying so far as China. You should educate your children, and social uplift will automatically follow its wake. Your social condition must be improved before you can aspire to any lasting advancement No institution can rely upon a nation that is backward in education or social condition.

"Mussalmans take politics as a game, and not

seriously enough. I assure you that politics cannot be run as a game; Mussalmans will never succeed in their object until and unless they will not make their politics their "Ibadat" (or prayers). People hesitate joining the League, they think several times over before they agree to sign the pledge, they reason with themselves whether their district's Deputy Commissioner will be annoyed at their having joined the Institution. They wait for big guns to join first, before they themselves agree to become its member. Remember, that this League is a power that you should gain. It is the greatest instrument with which you can achieve your object.

"I joined the League, not thinking it a game, but as "Ibadat" the day I waver from my intentions my action will have no meaning or effect left. Do not join politics thinking it to be a game, but join it taking it to be "Ibadat" or prayers.

"It is a common practice that if the aim is good one should not hesitate even employing the shabbiest of ways to achieve it. Many institutions to-day select good and golden aims, but achieve them by adopting the meanest of means. A Muslim is not a Muslim till his goal is not fixed:

پرے ھے چرخ نیلی فام سے منزل مسلماں کی
ستارے جس کی گرد راہ ھین وہ کاروان تو ھے

"O Muslim Brethren ! your goal is fixed, that is why you have not been made to pray for it, instead you should now pray for a straight path, honourable and straighforward means of getting to your goal. If you try to reach your goal by a crooked path, it is wrong. It is not at all right for you to leave the right path and tread the wrong one. If you seek صراط مستقیم however your goal is golden, and your aim right, you will never get to it unless you tread the right path. You wish to build a mosque, but want to use the tainted money of Akhtari's songs, you wish to help the starving people of Bengal, but with the tainted money earned from a Cinema show. This is not right, nor it is the Islamic way of doing things.

"People ask me, you have come from far, what present have you brought, I say, I have nothing to give you but the pieces of my heart. I a helpless faqir, what do I possess but a restless heart? No one hates his perfections as I do mine. Those who come to listen to me, do not carry with them my soul, they only take away my oration minus its soul. Muslims like my phraseology, my delivery, and the choice of my words. I beg you one and all, for Heaven's sake not to do it.

"According to my habit now I will summarise my speech. The first word of Muslim is Muslim, and as long as you will not become a true Muslim in the correct sense of the word,

you will never be able to make a "Muslim League". As long as some other power occupies your brain, you cannot become a true Muslim. The next thing I told you about was your educational and social advancement, and the next after that was that you should avoid turning politics into a mere game, instead make it your "Ibadat" or prayers. The goal, however, golden should never be achieved by foul means. It is indeed wrong and dishonourable. And a Muslim can never afford to be dishonourable.

"It so happens that sometimes happiness also comes as an affliction. You think that thunder of a cloud or the hailstorm is an affliction. Even the right thinking of human beings can be an affliction and punishment. I see you encircled by smaller afflictions. To-day Saith Haroon is a big man, all his servants salam him,·humbly, and fear his displeasure. You think that as long as you were showered with blessings, your God was happy with you. Even the vilest of slave wants to improve his position. How can you live on the earth of the Creator, who has the powers to give you birth and death, if you displease him? To please a human being might be difficult but in order to please Almighty all you require is a "Sajdah" (bowing in adoration of your God) and a couple of tears. Go to your homes now, make peace with your God. Appease Him with a

Sajdah and two tears, do not let the Devil have time enough to turn you away from your good intentions. Do not let the night pass lest you expire and the repentance become too late. Tell Him you are His creation, you will not stir till you are forgiven for your past sins, assure Him you will make amends.

There is another way of appeasing God, you can please Him if you serve humanity in His name, and one way of serving humanity is to feed the hungry, and give to the needy. On the Day of Reckoning a "Namazi" will be brought forward for judgment, and he will be ordered to Hell, for the fact that one day a hungry man asked for food in God's name and he was turned away by this namazi. God has given you plenty, so never hesitate in giving in his name.

به تسبیح و سجاده و دلق نیست
عبادت بجز خدمت خلق نیست

Whereas you can appease God with a Sajdah, and a couple of tears, you can also please him by serving humanity. It is my last message to you this year. Appease your Creator. Good-bye.

ALL-INDIA RAILWAY MUSLIM EMPLOYEES CONFERENCE

The All-India Railway Muslim Employees Conference was held in the afternoon of December 25 under the Presidentship of Hon. Abu Abdullah Husain Imam Khan, Member Council of State in Muslim League Pandal known as Pakistan Parliament. More than 500 delegates from all railways where Muslim Employees Associations exist were present. Besides a large number of N.-W.R. Muslim Employees of Karachi Division, sufficient number of other visitors who had gathered there in connection with the All-India Muslim League Conference, also attended the conference. Welcoming the delegate K. B. M. A. Khuhro, M.L.A., (Sind) the Chairman Reception Committee delivered the following address:

Gentlemen!—I feel justifiably proud to-day in being given this pleasant duty of extending to you, on behalf of the Reception Committee and the local Association, a very cordial welcome to this historic city on a historic occasion.

I need not recall, perhaps, the historic asso-

ciations of this great province of India, which, in the past, has been the gateway of Islam in India and which shall in the future form the corner-stone of Pakistan.

I need not further dilate upon the paramount importances in the present times of the organization of Muslim labour. Apparently, you realized this need over a decade ago and set about unifying your ranks. As a result of this foresight you have been able to achieve great things, the greatest of them being the obvious awakening amongst the Muslim Railwaymen themselves and, also, amongst the Muslim public men and the Government of India in regard to the injustice of your demands and the necessity for conceding them.

It is repeated *ad nausoum* by our "Nationalist" friends that the Communal "virus" must not be introducted into the Trade Union Movement in India. It is very peculiar that the introduction of the Socialist "virus", the Atheistic "virus", the Congressite "virus" and the Hindu-Mahasabhite "virus into the Trade Union Movement is never deplored by the so-called leaders of the Trade Union Movement in India. It is only the Communal "virus" which probably is the name they are pleased to give to the Muslim element, which is objected to. You can however, readily understand this, for this is the way in which the minds of our "Nationalist" friends work.

The fact of the matter is that all these Socialists, Atheists, Congressites and Hindu-Mahasabhites are exploiting labour, including Muslim labour, for their own ends. This exploitation is two-fold, National and Ethical; it is a National exploitation, as the various Congressite and Socialist bodies claim the affinities of these labour organizations with their political movements; it is an ethical and spiritual exploitation inasmuch as the Atheists seek to utilize the labour platforms to spread their obnoxious anti-Islamic creeds. To wean Muslims from these destructive and denationalizing forces is most commendable and the organizers of your Association, therefore, all the more deserve the congratulations of the Nation for the very good work which they have done during the last decade and which, I hope, we shall continue doing with increased vigour and force.

It is an unfortunate fact that your organisation is regarded as suspect by the Railway administrations. They do not, what they are pleased to term, "recognize" you. That is to say, they do not recognize your right to represent the grievances of your members. They do not allow your office-bearers to interview them. They have not even the common courtesy of replying to your letters. They even harass and terrorize your members and office-bearers. On the other hand, they recognize the so-called

"common" unions. They fail to realize that as these Unions are run by Atheists, Congressites, Socialists and Hindu-Mahasabhites, Muslims do not wish to join them. And even if Muslims did join such Unions, their voice in the deliberations of such Unions, could not possibly be effective on account of their very small proportion in the Railway services. In fact, these Unions are Hindu Unions—just as the Congress claims to be a "common" organization, but is in reality a Hindu organization. Most of the Railway administrations in India have also recognized Associations of European and Anglo-Indian employees, who have camouflaged the true character and composition of their Associations under a high sounding name, viz., "The Nationalist Union of Railwaymen in India."

At one time, Muslims were also advised by certain highplaced Government members that their Association would be recognized if they change its name so as to make it sound as if it were a common Association. It was, in fact, suggested that Muslims should re-name their Association, as for example, the Union of Super-National Railwaymen in India! I am, however, proud to be able to say that, in that hour of trial and temptation, Muslims stood firm. They preferred to call a spade a spade and a rose a rose.

In 1941, Mr. H. M. Abdullah, M. L. A.

(Central) moved a resolution on behalf of the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature, demanding the recognition of Muslim Unions of Government Employees. This resolution, as was only to be expected in a House constituted as it is, was defeated. In his speech to the Assembly, however, even Sir Reginald Maxwell, the Home Member, had to concede that such Associations could perform certain legitimate functions, such as, helping members in their difficulties, raising funds, giving advice about application of rules and regulations and helping them to draft individual memorials.

It is gathered. however, from recent press reports that the Government of India contemplate introducting legislation, probably in the next session of the Central Legislative Assembly, in regard to the recognition of Trade Unions by Government and other employers. One of the clauses in this legislation is reported to be that no "communal" Trade Union would be eligible for recognition by its employer. To place such a mischievous piece of legislation on the Statute Book would be the height of absurdity at a time when Government itself is constituted on the so-called communal lines. This mischievous bill must be opposed tooth and nail. It is at present under circulation and I hope that this historic session of this great Association will place on record their emphatic opposition to the relevent pro-

visions of this bill and leave the Government in no doubt as to what the Muslims think and feel about it.

In passing, I would like to say a word or two about the effect on the national economy of Muslims of their most inadequate share in the Railway services. The Wage Bill of the Railways amounts approximately to 36 crores of rupees. The Muslim nation demands equal share in the administration of the country. Our present foreign, bureaucratic, wooden and ante-diluvian Government has conceded to us so far a share of only 25 p.c., in the centrally-administered Services. Even on the basis of this 25 p.c. Muslims are entitled to wages from Railway amounting to 9 crores of rupees per year. Actually, however, Muslims receive hardly 4 crores of rupees per annum as wages from the Railway Services. This means that the Nation is loosing more than 5 crores of rupees every year in wages alone from the Railway Services only.

The Wage Bill, however, is only one item of expenditure. The total expenditure on Railways amounts approximately to 100 crores of rupees per year. The railway revenues in normal years amounted also to about 100 crores of rupees. To-day it is much more. Muslims contribute their quota to swell the railway receipts. But, how much exactly do they ever get back can at best be a matter for

conjecture. An index of the position is, however, given by the fact that, leaving aside big contracts, Muslims are not allowed to handle even petty vending contracts on small wayside stations! As far as figures of employment are concerned it is said that 60 p.c. of all future direct recruitment on the North Western Railway must be reserved for Muslims. In spite of these high sounding resolutions, however, the fact remains that, to say nothing of high officers and senior subordinates, even Muslim watermen are scarce at stations!

In the matter of promotions, it is often stated that Muslims demand favouritism or undue advancement or the suppression of more qualified non-Muslims to provide for inadequately qualified Muslims. In point of fact, however, Muslims demand neither of these things. They do not ask for promotion merely because they are Muslims. They demand, however, that promotion should not be denied to them merely because they are Muslim. Their faith should neither be a qualification nor a disqualification. At present they feel it is very much of a disqualification in the eyes of the majority of their non-Muslim officers.

To secure some definite improvement, it is most necessary that a definite time limit should be laid down in which the deficiency of Muslims in the Railway and other Public Services should be made good. A clear-cut Five Year

Programmee should be chalked out with precision and then enforced with vigour. I feel, however, that I must not try to anticipate the subject-committee which will, of course, form resolutions for your consideration.

I have no desire to stand between you and your President any longer. You must be feeling impatient to hear him. So, I welcome you all once more and thank you again for taking the trouble of coming down from such long distances to make the deliberations of this Session a great success. I would, also, ask for your indulgence in so far as the Reception Committee may not be able to look after you as well as they would have liked to do on account of the difficult conditions that have been created in this country on account of war conditions in the matter of availability of food supplies. Our limitations are well-known to you and I have no doubt that you will weigh them carefully in the balance before passing judgment.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

After that the Hon'ble Abu Abdullah Husain Imam Khan, Member Council of State, was called to preside the conference.

The president elect then delivered his address which reads as follows :—

Gentlemen,

I am fully conscious of the honour that had been done to me in electing me as President of the All-India Railway Muslim Employees' Conference.

My friend K.B. M.A. Khuhro, the President of your Reception Committee, has just detailed some of the problems that, at the present moment, are looming large on your horizon. You have, undoubtedly, to face many more difficulties and to tackle a variety of other problems also. The President of your various Associations are, no doubt, available to you for immediate discussion and guidance. So also are the Members of the Central Legislature and, what is more, you have now the whole-hearted sympathy and the active guidance of the one and only organization of the Muslim Nation, (the All-India Muslim League), in collaboration with which august body your present session is being held.

The active support of the cause of Muslim employees of the railway, was voiced in the Central Assembly cut-motion during the period of Sir Thomas Stewart's membership.

During the period of Sir Andrews Clow's membership the Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly and the Council of State walked out in protest against the injustices done to the Muslim Railway Employees.

I think it was the late Lala Lajpat Rai who exploded the myth that Englishmen act as impartial judges so far as the different communities in India are concerned. "Actual experience," he declared "would show that some Europeans are strongly pro-Muslim while others are equally pro-Hindu, but every one of them is very strongly pro-Christian." If, therefore, some of you have been looking forward to the British people to be just or impartial towards you, you are vastly mistaken. An Englishman is the worst Communnlist in the world. He thinks, feels and acts in the interest of his own community first and last."

That is the reason why Europeans of both the faked and the genuine variety, as also the Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians, are not only given reservation in the direct recruitment to posts in the Indian Railways, but are, also, shown special favours in the matter of promotions, so much so that there is hardly any category of staff of officers and senior sub-

ordinates where the Anglo-Indians do not preponderate in proportion to their population ratios in the country. That, also, is precisely the reason why members of these communities are granted an increased rate of pay on appointment to Railway and certain other centrally-administered services. It would be hard to find in any other civilized country in the world a more glaring example of communal discrimination, that for doing identical work of equal responsibility in the same office and under the same Government the Anglo-Indians should be granted comparatively more pay than those belonging to other communities.

In reserving for the Anglo-Indians, etc., a much larger proportion of vacancies in direct recruitment, vide Home Department's Resolution of July, 1934, the Government of India advanced the plea that the Anglo Indians had a special aptitude for Railway Services and had been reared in Railway traditions and that any large decrease in their share of Railway appointments would result in a violent dislocation of the economic structure of this community. To avoid that violent dislocation of the economic structure of the Anglo-Indians, special safe-guards were provided for them and special measures were taken to ensure the continuity for them as here-to-fore of the loaves and fishes of offices.

In contradistinction to this special solicitude of the Government of India for the Anglo-Indian community is their attitude towards the Muslims. The grossly inadequate representation of Muslims in Railway Services was forcefully brought to the notice of the Government as far back as 1925. The Government, however, adopted a negative attitude and contented themselves merely with enunciating pious platitudes in regard to the prevention of preponderance of any one community in Government Services. It took the Government several years to realize that this negative policy had failed to achieve its purpose and then they went one step forward by reserving 33 p.c. of vacancies in direct recruitment towards the redress of communal inequalities. It took the Government several more years to realize that even this had failed to ensure for the Muslims a fair deal. This brought forth the very much boosted July 1934 Resolution of the Government of India, in which a definite reservation was made for the different communities in direct recruitment. In the meantime, the position of Muslims on the Railways had been considerably worsened in the wholesale retrenchment that followed the trade depression of 1931 when over 5 thousand more Muslims were retrenched than was warranted by the Railway rules on the subject. This lee-way had not been fully made up from 1934 to 1939

when the war broke out. I understand that the present emergent conditions are again being made a scapegoat for doing injustice to Muslims in direct recruitment, and that Muslims are not being recruited up to the full quota reserved for them on the plea that they are not available. It is true that Muslim youngmen have a flair for adventure and with their martial traditions are offering themselves in thousands for Military Services in various capacities. This does not mean, however, that there are not enough Muslims available for the various posts that may be going on Railways. The fact is that the minimum qualifications laid down are senselessly high and divergent on different railways and even in different areas on the same railways for the same posts. For example, a third division Matriculate is considered good enough as a clerk on Delhi, Karachi and Quetta Divisions of the North Western Railway, but he is not considered good enough on the other Divisions.

After the war there will be another retrenchment and judging from past experiences, Muslims are naturally apprehensive that every effort will be made by their non-Muslim officers to utilize that opportunity to get rid of whatever Muslims have been able to gain admittance into the railway services. If things continue like this, Muslims will never be able to achieve their bare dues in the matter of

recruitment to railway services, and as my friend, K. B. M. A. Khuhro the President of the Reception Committee has already pointed out, the economic loss to the nation, which is a recurring loss, would amount to over 8 crores of rupees.

The Muslim nation is, however, now wide awake, and we shall see that Government apathy, which is normally a reflection only of our own apathy, shall not last. We have seen how entire nations can be re-built in a short time if a carefully conceived and ably executed plan is followed. We demand that a plan should be carefully worked out now as one of the post-war reconstruction schemes to secure the full and adequate representation of Muslims according to their population ratios in the various parts in the country served by the various railways in India in each and every grade of the railway services within a definite stipulated period. The time for drift is past; the future must be based on something more substantial than mere verbal platitudes. This does not mean, however, that the present, should be neglected. Every effort should be made to see that the large number of vacancies in the various grades of the railway services which are at present being created to meet with the present emergency, are filled with due regard to Muslim claims and rights. If there are any senseless rules which prevent

the employment of a sufficient number of Muslims, those senseless rules must be scrapped.

To make this Government hear, you shall have to knock hard and loud ; you shall have to close your own ranks ; you will have to bring unity amongst yourselves ; and you shall have to learn to march shoulder to shoulder, step by step, to victory. I have no doubt that this victory shall be ours, for our cause is just and right.

RESOLUTIONS

The All-India Muslim Railway Employees Conference met on Saturday afternoon in the Pakistan Parliament under the presidentship of the Hon'ble Syed Husain Imam, Member Council of State. The conference passed about 22 resolutions including one that urges upon the Government the necessity of fixing definite percentage of Muslims in the grade promotions. It further said that the percentage may be fixed 33½ per cent on an All-India basis. It is also demanded that justice should be done to the lower and higher ranks of Muslim officers in the matter of promotions.

In another resolution it was urged upon the Railway Board to appoint in future Muslim Asstt. Staff Wardens in every division of railway.

The third resolution demanded adequate representation in the newly created posts in railways.

Yet another resolution passed requesting the Muslim League to take up the cause of Muslim Employees in all railway services. Next resolution recorded protest against Enquiry

Committee of Jodhpur State Railway which was doing injustice to the Muslims.

A resolution enjoining Muslim Railway Employees to render whole-hearted co-operation to the Government in all cases of emergencies was passed by the All-India Muslim Railway Employees Conference which was held at Haroonabad to-day. Mr. Husain Imam, Member of the Council of State presided.

The resolution stated: "As the welfare of Muslims cannot be known to non-Muslims, therefore Muslim employees are forbidden to take part, directly or indirectly, in Political and anti-Government activities such as strikes, walk-outs, etc. The sole object of organizing the Muslim Railway Employees into an association is to present grievances only and to unite the Muslims into one solid body."

Whereas the Muslim representation in Intermediate grades of State Railway subordinate services is not only meagre but negligible and there is no progress. The junior efficient Muslims remain blocked on their initiative posts due to promotion being based on seniority basis, this conference views that until and unless some reservation of Muslims in these grades is fixed the long standing grievances of Muslims cannot be redressed. It is therefore suggested that so long as the Muslim quota in railway services is not up-to date 50 p.c. of promotion be reserved for Muslims.

In view of the economic conditions in India being changed and the cost of living being very deer this conference of All-India Railway Muslim employees demands that besides increasing the Dearness Allowance up-to Rs. 40 a general revision of scale of 1934 may be made.

Muslim holidays being subject to visibility of crescent the declaration of holiday on the day of occurrence of the festival is not sufficient. The conference demands that at least three days holiday for Muslim festivals such as Idul-Fitr and Idul Zuha be granted to Muslim staff.

This Conference of All-India Railway Muslim Employees considers that due to creation of Lower Gazetted Service Muslims have suffered a great loss which should be abolished and steps should be taken to complete the quota of Muslims in gazetted service by stoping the appointment of other communities if necessary.

SIND MUSLIM STUDENTS' CONFERENCE

Sind Muslim Students Conference met on Monday, 27 December, 1943, at 11 a.m. in the Pandal at Haroonabad.

A large number of Muslim Students were present. The conference was presided by Jamal Mian Firangi Mahali.

ADVICE TO MUSLIM STUDENTS

"Your student life is going to shape your future life, which, in turn, will be the most dominating factor in shaping the fnture of India. Therefore, do not waste a single moment of your present," observed Maulana Mohammad Bahadur Khan (Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang) while inaugurating the Sind Muslim Students Federation in the Muslim League pandal on December, 27th.

Continuing the speaker advised the students to get prepared for the great task that lay ahead of them, strengthen their character, and imbibe in them the true Islamic spirit. He laid special stress on the fact that in Islam, religion and politics were not apart. He said

that those who did not believe this were not aware of the internal structure of Islam.

Pir Ilahi Bakhsh, the Minister of Education and President of Sind Muslim Students' Federation. in his speech, said education to-day was all that was wanted by the Young Muslims of India. "There should be true education and true training in various institutions with the idea of preparing the students for the future struggle in life." Pir Ilahi Bakhsh complained that the present educational system was not suited to the Muslims, but he hoped that the All-India Muslim Educational Conference would chalk out a comprehensive educational scheme for the Muslim youths.

Proceeding the Pir Sahib said, "For this new Pakistan country you will have to train the Muslim youth to take up the reins of Government, and people should realise the need for placing their country on a sound basis both economically and educationally.

"Students are the makers of the new world. They should, therefore, mould themselves to be true leaders, true guides and true servants of their community and the country. For this big ideal students are required to train themselves from the very start.

The Pir Sahib further complained about the absence of "discipline or moral spirit that is essential for a Mussalman. The good neighbourly spirit is disappêarig, and the principle

of universal brotherhood taught by Islam is being forgotten. Students devote all their time to frivolous activities and become easygoing fellows caring little for discipline and organisation."

In conclusion he advised the students to lead a simple, hardy, and well-disciplined life. He expected everyone of them to be respectful to their parents, teachers and elders, and be God-fearing.

Maulana Jamal Mian, in his presidential address, said that he wanted to make it clear that the Muslims were not begging for Pakistan. They were determined to achieve it whether the Hindus liked it or not. He wished Dr. Shyama Prasad a long life to see Pakistan established in the majority provinces of India. He strongly rejected the Hindu leader's contention that religion was separate from politics. He held that as long as there was a single Muslim soul in India this idea could not be foisted on this country.

RESOLUTIONS

Six resolutions were then unanimously passed. One demanded the introduction of compulsory teaching of the Quran with translation in all Muslim educational institutions in the province. The second resolution demanded the introduction of Urdu as a medium of instruc-

tion for the Muslims of Sind. Other resolutions dealt with the attack on Mr. Jinnah, which was condemned in strong terms, proscription of the 13th and the 14th chapters of *Satyarath Prakash.*

CONFIDENCE IN MR. JINNAH

The conference accepted the leadership of Mr. Jinnah and assured him that the students of Sind are prepared for any sacrifices to achieve Pakistan.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM MINISTERS' CONFERENCE

Taking advantage of the presence of the Premiers and the Ministers of the five Pakistan Provinces a conference was convened at Sind Secretariate on December 28th, 1943. Three Premiers, ten Ministers and twelve Parliamentary Secretaries from the five Mustim Majority Provinces took part in it. Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah the Premier of Sind presided.

The Premier of the Punjab, Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana and the Hon'ble Mian Abdul Haye, Minister for Education, Punjab left for Lahore a day before the conference, however, they were represented by Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Syed Amjad Ali.

The representatives of the respective provinces were as follows :—

Bengal: Premier Sir Nazimuddin, Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Mr. Moizuddin Hussain Khan, Mr. Jalaluddin Ahmad, Mr. Shahabuddin Khan and a Hindu Minister together with three Parliamentary Secretaries.

Sind : Premier Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Khan Bahadur Khuro, Mr. M. H. Gazdar and Pir Ilahi Bakhsh and three Parliamentary Secretaries.

N.-W. F. P.: Premier Sardar Aurangzeb Khan and Mr. Abdul Rab Nashtar and three Parliamentary Secretaries.

Assam: Mr. Abdul Matin Chowdhary.

The following items of agenda were discussed:—

(1) Provincial autonomy: Question of importance in its working.

(2) Joint responsibility of Ministers. Scope of its actual working.

(3) Special responsibility and individual judgment of the Governor. Their relation to day-to-day administration.

(4) Food policy of the Government of India, especially in its relation to the agricultural population.

(5) The question of famine being assumed as a Central Government responsibility.

(6) Status and functions of Parliamentary Secretaries to the Ministers.

(7) Any other subjects of common interest to the whole community, that may offer themselves for discussion.

PROCEEDINGS

There was a frank and full discussion of all the subjects on the agenda. In particular, there was a prolonged and at times heated discussion of the exercise by the Governors of their powers in cases coming under their special

responsibility and individual judgment. It was revealed during the discussion that there was no uniformity and different Governors followed different outlooks in this respect.

As the matter was considered by the meeting to be of very great importance with regard to the day-to-day administration, it was decided to make a thorough study of the cases where, in the different Provinces, the Governors had not accepted the advice of the Ministers. The matter will be considered again when a similar conference of All-India Premiers and Ministers is held.

HEALTHY CONVENTIONS

As regards Ministers in general it was felt that like the permanent services, Ministers too were in a sense permanent, although the personnel may change. Certain conventions had, therefore, to be established so that future generations may not say that Ministers of the present day had surrendered the people's rights and privileges under the constitution by allowing the Governors to do whatever they liked. Except in cases where the Governor's individual discretion was involved, it was felt that the Minister's advice where it was sought aud tendered should not be overruled. There should be no interference in the day-to-day administration, irrespective of which party was

in power. Healthy conventions embodying these principles should be formed.

As regards joint responsibility of Ministers, it was decided that the principles should be strictly adhered to as far as the functions of Government are concerned.

But joint responsibility may be relaxed in question of highly controversial and political matters where different parties forming coalition Ministries do not agree.

The conference discussed whether the recommendations of Public Service Commissions regarding the appointment, promotions, and confirmation were binding on Ministry or not. It was found that there were different procedures in different Provinces. It was unanimously agreed that qualifications for the posts should be determined by the Ministers and the Public Service Commission should be asked to recommend two names for each vacancy without showing the order of preference.

The quession of the permanent Secretaries interviewing the Governor and acquainting him with what is happening in the different departments was also discussed. No definite decision was formulated.

PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARIES

Another matter discussed was the status and functions of Parliamentary Secretaries. It has

been the practice in England that Parliamentary Secretaries are not only given Parliamentary work but are delegated certain powers of an administrative character and with regard to these the permanent Secretaries of Government take orders from the Parliamentary Secretaries. It was considered that the matter should be further studied as to what administrative powers should be delegated to Parliamentary Secretaries.

It was pointed out during discussion that the Bombay Government when the Congress was in power had given powers to Parliamentary Secretaries to tour their own constituencies or wherever the Ministers required them to tour and to explain the Government's policy. In that position they were empowered to call District officers to help them. It was the unanimous desire of the meeting that such meetings should be held as often as possible and practicable.

MUSLIM WOMEN'S LEAGUE

There was a special and ambitious programme, for Ladies' Section of All-India Muslim League, arranged by Madam Daulat Hidayatullah, Secretary, Ladie's Reception Committee. It had quite a busy outlook. An exceptionally large number of lady delegates had gathered from all the four corners of India.

Besides the delegates who had assembled from far and wide, 5,000 ladies were present. Among those present prominent were Miss Jinnah, Begum Mohamed Ali, Mrs. Shahabuddin, M. L. A.. (Bengal), Mrs. Allahana, M. L. A., Lady Zulfiqar Ali Khan, (Lahore), Lady Shafi, Begum Bashir Ahmad, Begum Qazi Mohamed Isa, Begum Abdul Aziz, Mrs. Tassadduq Hussain, Begum Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, Mrs. Kamaluddin and Fatima Begum, (Lahore).

The Women's Sub-committee Meeting was held at Lady Haroon's Gulshan-i-Nusrat on Thursday, December 23, at 10-30 a.m.

In the afternoon they saw the grand procession of the President All-India Muslim League and then witnessed the flag-hoisting ceremony on the Haroonabad Gate at 6-50 p.m.

On Friday morning Lady Ghulam Hussain took most of them out for sight seeing to Clifton and Drigh Road at 11-30 a.m. the same day the 2nd meeting of the Sub-committee took place. Later in the afternoon an at Home was given by the Ladies Reception Committee at the residence of Lady Ghulam Hussain. In the evening all lady visitors took part in the first open session of the All-India Muslim League.

Mr. JINNAH IMPRESSED BY WOMEN'S PARADE

On Friday, smartly dressed in spotlessly white Pyjamas, shirts and green "dupattas," about 60 members of the Muslim Women's National Guard were inspected by Mr. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, on the morning of December 24th at "Abdullah Court." At first Mr. Jinnah saluted them from the balcony of his residence but later Mrs. Yusuf Haroon, Chief Salar of the Guard, requested the League President to come down and take the salute. In the meantime, the members had arranged their rows in the form of a crescent while their leaders Miss Saida Hamid, Mrs. Khandwalla, Miss Z. Haroon and Mrs. Abdul Shakoor formed a star.

Addressing them in English, Mr. Jinnah complimented them on their smartness and

discipline and said that Muslim women had an important part to play in the attainment of Pakistan. He emphasized the need of organising Muslim Women's National Guard in all parts of India and hoped that very soon they would spread the seeds of a useful organisation like the Women's National Guard everywhere.

Concluding, the League President said that a great task lay before the Muslim community and he hoped that Muslim women would also work as soldiers of Pakistan, for, without their support, it would be hard to attain the Muslim League's goal.

WOMEN'S SUB-COMMITTEE OFFICE BEARERS

On Saturday, the 25th of December the annual election of office-bearers to the All-India Muslim Women's sub-committee took place and the following were elected unanimously: Lady Horoon, President; Begum Aizaz Rasul, Secretary; and Begum Abdul Aziz, Treasurer.

All lady delegates of the Muslim League conference and members of Women's Sub-committee to-day went on an outing at Manora Island about one mile from Karachi harbour. The party started from the residence of Lady Hidayatullah, wife of the Sind Premier, in the morning and returned to Karachi in the even-

ing, when they took part in the second sitting of the open session of the All-India Muslim League Conference.

On Sunday, most of the lady visitors took part in the third meeting of the open session of the All-India Muslim League Conference, and at 4 p.m. they had their own All-India Muslim League Women's Sub-committee Conference, when Lady Ghulam Hussain Hidayat-ullah, Chairman, Reception Committee, welcomed guests and delivered her address.

Begum Aizaz Rasul, Secretary, Women's Sub-committee in her report reviewed the progress made by the Muslim League ladies in regard to the political and social awakening amongst them. She expressed her satisfaction that ladies from all over the country responded to her appeal for the Bengal Relief Fund. She said that a sum of Rs. 4,000 was sent by the Baluchistan Committee for Bengal. She further told the Conference that she was going to undertake tour of the country along with Lady Haroon to popularise the schemes for the political, social and economical betterment of the Muslim ladies.

LEAGUE SUB-COMMITTEE'S DECISIONS

The Conference passed a number of resolutions including one urging upon provincial

bodies to establish Muslim League, Zenana Industrial Homes to help the poor women and to encourage them to earn their livelihood through home industry. That in view of the fact that the Muslims of India considered themselves a separate nation, the members of the Women's Sub-committee of the All-India Muslim League should have nothing to do with the All-India Women's Conference and the communist organisation of women, was the resolution passed by the Women's Sub-committee of the All-India Muslim League at its meeting held on Dec. 25th at "Seafield" under the presidentship of Lady Horoon.

The resolution, which was characterised as the most important resolution by Begum Isa, called upon all Muslim women to join the League and to cease all connections with all other women organisations.

The Sub-committee examined and adopted a comprehensive programme for the uplift of Muslim Women chalked out by the Secretary. This programme includes the inauguration of Women's National Guard under the League banner in all the provinces. All the Provincial Leagues will be addressed in this connection to start Women's National Guard as early as possible.

By another resolution the Sub-committee demanded representation for Muslim Women on all food committees and health committees

and requested provincial governments to allot at least one seat to Muslim Women on all such committees. In connection with the food problem, the Sub-committee called upon all organizations to reserve food shops from where Muslim Women observing pardah could buy their necessities of life.

The problem of the education of Muslim women and girls figured prominently in the constructive programme and efforts are being made to give it a practical shape immediately.

A small committee consisting of Lady Haroon, Begum Isa and Begum Aizaz Rasul was appointed to tour the whole country to help the Provincial Leagues to start women's organisation everywhere and to see that the programme chalked out and approved of at to-day's meeting was successfully implemented.

All these resolutions were presented at the open session of the Muslim Women's Conference.

MISCELLANEOUS FUNCTIONS

CIVIC ADDRESS TO QAID-E-AZAM

On Saturday, December 25th, the Qaid-e-Azam Mohamed Ali Jinnah was given a civic address by the City Fathers of Karachi Corporation, at 6-30 p.m. in the Town Hall.

Amongst those present were the City Fathers, members of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee, Members of the League Council and several delegates to the League Session, apart from the many prominent public men of Karachi. The address was presented in a beautiful silver casket.

In the course of the address, Lala Shambonath Mulraj, Mayor said :—

"You and your co-workers are meeting at perhaps the most momentous time in the history of the world and we hope and pray that God Almighty will in His wisdom guide you and your colleagues in your deliberations so that your decisions may link the two great communities together enabling the country to take its rightful place among the United Nations of the world. We on our part will have the supreme happiness of feeling that it was in our city—the place of your birth where such results

were achieved. It is a happy coincidence that we are welcoming you to-day on an auspicious day—your birthday, and we wish you many more happy returns of the day to serve your country."

REPLY TO CIVIC ADDRESS

"Just as you are eagerly awaiting the day when the life giving waters will flow from the Indus, so are we waiting for our soul-inspiring independence and freedom; and we shall get it," said Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League, replying to the address of welcome. Mr. Jinnah spoke for seven minutes. He said: "I cannot but feel really proud that you have honoured me with this address. Further, I am pleased to note that it is given to me by a body representing all persons irrespective of class, colour or creed. No greater honour could have been bestowed on me. I sincerely thank you for your expression of goodwill, and I am glad that this is not the first time you have honoured me."

Appealing to every one to make his contribution to bring about a settlement among Indians. Mr. Jinnah said: "I know it is the universal desire among all communities that instead of the bitterness, the feuds and the futile controversies in which we waste our time and energies, there should be a friendly settle-

ment between ourselves. It is not merely by expressing a desire or wishing for it that we can accomplish it. I appeal to every one to make a concrete, solid and definite contribution to bring about that settlement."

NATIONAL GUARDS RALLY

Qaid-e-Azam, Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah on Sunday the 26th December, 1943, at 5-45 p.m., while standing on the wide balcony of "Bab-ul-Islam," the main gate of Haroonabad watched march past and took salute of the entire Muslim National Guard force present at Karachi numbering about 2,000; about 800 coming from Sind alone and the rest having come from all over the country. Mr. Jinnah presented cups to the National Guard Companys of Ahmedabad and Karachi for their smartness and also distributed prizes to different Group Captains.

A silver trophy called Raja Mahmudabad Cup was awarded to Ahmedabad National Guards for their smartness and efficiency in work, while the Silver Trophy named Haroon Cup was won by the Karachi M. N. G. band for their smart appearance and good music.

The Punjab Muslim National Guards were prominent by their absence from the rally.

LADY HAROON'S DINNER

In honour of Mr. Jinnah's birthday to-day, Lady Haroon gave a dinner at her residence "Abdullah Court." About 200 covers were laid for the occasion, and a cosmopolitan gathering wished Mr. Jinnah many happy returns of the day.

JINNAH VISITS ORPHANAGE

"There can be no nobler cause than to educate and train the poor and uncared for. I am glad that this institution has introduced technical education in the days when B.A's can hardly earn Rs. 50 or 60, while a technician with proper technical knowledge can earn Rs. 100 or more," said Mr. M. A. Jinnah, replying to an address presented to him on Sunday by the Jamia Islamia and Yatim Khana Haji Sir Abdullah Haroon Association.

Addressing Mr. Yusuf Haroon, Mr. Jinnah said: "You have under your care, nearly 170 children. What would have happened to them if there was no such Orphanage; probably, they would have been wandering in the streets of Karachi. I wish this Orphanage every success, and I feel confident that under your care, supervision, control and help, it is bound to flourish."

Before leaving the premises he offered Fateha

at the tomb of Sir Abdullah Haroon, which is in the compound of the Orphanage.

KASHMIR LEADERS SEE JINNAH

On December 28, Choudhri Ghulam Abbas, President and Mr. Saghar, Secretary, Muslim Conference, Kashmir, interviewed Mr. Jinnah for an hour regarding Kashmir affairs.

RECEPTION BY MUSLIM CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Presenting the address on behalf of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce Mr. M. H. Gazdar, President of the Chamber, said that the economic position of Sind which was predominantly Muslim and agricultural, was very deplorable. The Muslim masses were poor, backward in education and in almost every walk of life including trade, commerce and industry. During the brief period of its existence, the Chamber had the opportunity to place its views on various subjects on behalf of the Muslim merchants. The Chamber had now decided to join the Federation of the Muslim Chambers of Commerce.

But Mr. Gazdar said, the task of bringing the Chamber to its required standard of utility and service required a great deal to be done, and they were alert and would miss no oppor-

tunity to rise equal to the occasion for securing their rights. They had already approached the authorities for giving the Chamber representation on the various local bodies and would continue to persist till their object was achieved.

JINNAH'S APPEAL TO BUSINESSMEN

The need for the full development of the commercial and industrial potentialities in the Pakistan area and thus hastening the day for achieving Pakistan was stressed by Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League, replying to the address presented to the Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Karachi, at the Muslim Gymkhana grounds, this evening.

Mr. Jinnah recalled that it was about three years ago that in the course of his stay here he had met a small group of Muslim merchants of Karachi and had drawn their attention to the fact that Muslims were very backward in the commercial and industrial spheres of life. The League President was glad that a Muslim Chamber of Commerce had been established in Karachi after three years of preachings.

"But," added Mr. Jinnah, "I want you to be earnest and be up and doing." On his next visit to Karachi, he said, the Muslim Chamber of Commerce should give him the report of their achievements and this, more than anything else in the world, would make him very happy.

Mr. Jinnah said that sound economic position was one of the strongest pillars of a nation. In fact the whole world revolved round it. One of the causes, and the only cause, for great wars was the survival in the economic life of the world. It was for that life and existence that the nations were quarrelling and fighting and killing each other by millions.

"Now, we are talking of Pakistan. And I tell you that the more powerful you get in the economic sphere particularly in the Pakistan areas, the sooner you will achieve Pakistan," said Mr. Jinnah.

"You have got in the Pakistan areas an enormous field and enormous scope if you will only look around. I am not a businessman. I am not an expert in commerce or industry. But applying my own commonsense, as a casual observer and as a political missionary carrying on my work and my propaganda and looking after my organisation wherever I have been in the Pakistan areas, that enormous potentialities lie in front of us.

"I, therefore, want you Mr. Gazdar and your Chamber now to handle this question scientifically and treat them so. You want scientific methods and scientific handling in the modern sense of the word," concluded Mr. Jinnah.

Prominent League Leaders including members of the Working Committee of the All-

India Muslim League were present at the function.

Amongst the hosts were all the prominent persons of Karachi including the various business magnets, who had assembled to welcome Mr. Jinnah.

KARACHI CITY MUSLIM LEAGUE TEA PARTY

On the afternoon of Tuesday, the 29th December, 1943, the City Muslim League of Karachi gave on at Home in honour of their beloved Qaid-e-Azam.

While welcoming Mr. Jinnah, the President of the City Muslim League, M. G. Allena assured him of the unflinching loyalty of the Muslims of Karachi to the League and when the call came Karachi Muslims would not lag behind in the achievement of an Independant Pakistan.

The All-India Muslim League Session at Karaehi was a turning point in the history of Muslim India, said Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in an address to the Muslims of Karachi. Mr. Jinnah who was speaking at an 'At Home' given by the City Muslim League added that the day of merely passing resolutions and holding conferences was over and the Muslim League should now approach the masses and endeavour to raise their standard of living. In that respect the resolution of the League Session in

appointing a Committee of Action was a turning point. Mr. Jinnah was glad that the younger generation of Muslims were active and were taking a decisive part in the League organisation.

PART III

PRESS REACTIONS

PRESS REACTIONS

Moderation and sobriety, as usual, characterised the Presidential address of Mr. Jinnah. There was no sabre-rattling, no sound and fury, no extravagance of speech. "Let everyone of you, men and women, young and old," the President said, "stand unflinchingly and without faltering. In Pakistan lies our deliverance, our defence and our destiny." That was a plain statement of the Muslims' demand and of the condition and minimum guarantee of their national life, and if they stand unflinchingly and unfalteringly for their national demand and are willing to make whatever sacrifices its realization calls for, they are sure to achieve their goal; for no nation that is determined to win its legitimate demands and is willing to make requisite sacrifices for the same has ever failed. And there is no room for question or doubt that the Muslims' demand is legitimate, fair and just by every canon of politics.

But while Mr. Jinnah enunciated the Muslim demand so clearly and categorically, he made it clear that the demand was conceived in no spirit of antagonism to the Hindus or any other people. "Can you achieve Pakis-

tan," the President asked, "without the independence of India? When we say Pakistan," he declared, "we mean not our independence only, but the independence of the Hindus also."—The *Eastern Times*, Lahore.

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The scale on which the Muslim League Session has been organised at Karachi, and the popular enthusiasm it has evoked, are proof positive of the greatness of the political revival that has come over the Muslims of India. Though nominally, it is the thirty-first session, it is in reality the sixth milestone set in the march of the people in the spirit of self-confidence as a nation, and with the final formulation of an ideal which the Muslims are resolved on attaining. We notice that "a definite programme to achieve the goal of Pakistan" is engaging the attention of leaders, but it would be well for us to realise that the stage of full preliminary consolidation is not passed, and the League has to proceed with wary steps. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. G.M. Syed, refers to "a constructive programme", but his address also stresses the importance of winning over the consent of the non-Muslims to the League's aim of independence both for Hindus and Muslims in India. "I again appeal," he says, "to my non-Muslim countrymen specially, that they should join us and help us to free our land,

and make it independent". But to-day who stands in the way of a joint effort? It is no use blaming the British as the "third party", since the spirit of liberation should come from Indians. Muslims are anxious to establish a *concordat* with the Hindus for the sake of their common emancipation. The veto against that normal development is exercised by Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the Congress, and the British are thereby invited not only to consolidate the deadlock, but to profit by it for the recovery of the small measure of self-government already exercised by Indians.

Mr. Jinnah has spoken and the substance of his speech forms an appeal for the exercise of reason. To suggest that the Mussalmans have been backward in the cause of demanding independence for the people of India as a belated imitation of the Congress is, therefore, nonsense. If it is a matter of "Quit India" acceptable to Britain, let it be as matter of common favour a proposition "Divide India and do quit". The folly of the Hindus has been the casting away of the fourth item in the Congress Constructive programme, namely Hindu-Muslim unity. There is a moving protest in Mr. Jinnah's speech worth notice by intelligent Hindu leaders. The story trumpeted up is that the Muslim League is not in favour of Indian freedom and there is no little significance in the impertinent remark of Pandit

Jawaharlal Nehru that if it were only a matter of Pakistan he would consent, but he could not accede because of his fear that Muslims would even then recede from the fight for Swaraj.

That the Muslim League has not adopted any stand-still programme must be clear from the decision taken to form a Committee of Action by the Karachi session of the League. The Muslims seek their freedom, and there is no intention to submit to a change of masters, and it is not the ambition of Muslims to govern the Hindustan areas where Hindus, equally free, can pursue their destiny.

From Mr. Jinnah's speech, it is clear that the Muslims want a solution of the deadlock, but the British Government and the Congress remain, so to speak, interlocked in a state of inaction. It is advisable that the savings of war time should be put in the form of substantial industries by Muslims in the Pakistan areas, especially of the North-West, in order to stabilize ameliorative activities of the Muslim League in its Five Year programme. The goal and policy set forth by the Muslims are thus perfectly legitimate, and the threat of Hindus that they would prefer servitude to Foreign Power rather than part with the share which belongs to Muslims will not deter them from organising, step by step, their move towards independence.—"*Dawn*," Delhi.

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Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's speech at the 31st Session of the All-India Muslim League at Karachi is as eloquent of his capacity for constructive thinking as it is of his yearning for the independence of India. Only those suffering from political myopia will miss the sincerity which is the keynote of the speech. Those who allege that Muslim League remains sitting on the fence while the political deadlock continues should read the speech over and over again in order to be able to fully understand the League's position. As it happens, neither the Congress nor our rulers are in a mood to listen to his counsel of prudence. Neither of the parties is anxious to end the deadlock and both are making a fetish of their prestige. Both the parties, as the Muslims of India have found them and known them to their cost, are insincere in the extreme when they talk about India's ultimate goal.

The Congress has all along laboured under the illusion that it can achieve India's independence without the active help of the one hundred million Muslims inhabiting this vast sub-continent. The illusion became the mother of the shocking August resolution of the Congress which served merely to fill the jails and to make confusion worse confounded. Our rulers on the other hand, do not seem to be sincere either when they seek India's co-operation in the war effort. Mr. Jinnah in his

speech has thoroughly exposed the mockery of the word co-operation as and when it is used by them. "What does co-operation mean in simple English"? asked the Qaid-e-Azam. "Without giving any share or authority in the Government," he goes on to say, "we are asked to do the work of camp followers, menials and subservients. Can we expect any self-respecting organisation to accept that position?"

Mr. Jinnah has made it clear time and again that the Muslim League is always ready and willing to come to terms with the British Government or the Hindus "on honourable terms and no other terms." Such being the case, it would be the height of unfairness to accuse the Muslim League of political obscurantism. If the British Government are as deeply anxious to mobilize the country behind the war effort, as they profess to be, why do they refuse to accept the hand of co-operation held out by the League? It is grossly unfair to penalise a whole country for the sin of those who elevate bad faith to the status of a creed. The Muslim League, our rulers ought to know, does never lend itself to any movement calculated to do harm to the country. Yet, strangely enough, they treat the Congress and the Muslim League alike. Co-operation, to be effective and real, presupposes an equitable arrangement between give and take. It is highly astonishing that when the Government asks

the Muslim League to co-operate with them in their war effort they have little or nothing to give but everything to take. The League is, therefore, definitely not going to co-operate either with the Government or with the Congress on such a basis. The League will have no truck either with the Congress unless it does radically change its attitude towards the political aspirations of the Mussalmans of India. These aspirations have been reiterated by the Qaid-e-Azam at Karachi in no uncertain language. Pakistan is the goal of the Indian Mussalmans in the attainment of which they will labour hard under the guidance of Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah.—Star of India, Calcutta.

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"The President of the All-India Muslim League vividly presents the weakness of our position in India.

At Delhi last April he appealed to the Congress to accept his terms—partition, Pakistan—though he did not expect it would.

The two great parties, he said, should agree (on condition that the Muslims get their Pakistan) and so get rid of the British.

Now at Karachi again, addressing the League, he seems to have reached the same end by a different road: That the British should recognize that the Muslims and the Congress cannot agree, should divide India between them, and should 'quit,' leaving each section

to its own devices.

But perhaps for us the most educational sentence was this: The British Government has to get the whole-hearted support of some party in this country, if not of all; but every party is kept at arms length and dissatisfied."

To 'win the war' in and for India means more than merely military victory. It ought to mean also winning the peace, which is what under the present circumstances is in danger from both the Indian and the British points of view."—Manchester Guardian.

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Mr. Jinnah is unhappily falling a victim to the craze for slogans which is the bane of Indian politics. The reason presumably is the Muslim League President's sensitiveness to the Congress gibe that his attitude fosters the "divide and rule" policy attributed by the Congress to the British Government. Mr. Jinnah, in his presidential address to the All-India Muslim League Conference at Karachi, therefore proclaimed a new slogan, "Divide and Quit". To enforce Mr. Jinnah's latest slogan would be, in present circumstances, as liable to give rise to the chaos which Mr. Gandhi contemplated as the Congress resolution which the League President himself denounces. There is no analogy whatever between India and countries like the Lebanon and Syria, from which the war has receded

and in which the people are united. India still has a formidable foe on her frontiers; her people are not united about their future, and the Muslim League has not yet stated precisely what it means by Pakistan. For the British Government arbitrarily to divide India and then quit at this stage of the war would be to invite disaster, and it would be an insult to Mr. Jinnah's political intelligence to imagine that he does not appreciate this fact.

Mr. Jinnah also copied the Congress by having a fling at the British Empire, which he says "will have to be liquidated one day." Two points may be noted about that observation. Firstly, the liquidation of the British Commonwealth, if it comes, will depend on the wish of the self-governing dominions which constitute the Common wealth; all that India need now concern herself about is the fact that she can, after she becomes a dominion or dominions, leave the Commonwealth if she so desires and seek disinterested friends elsewhere. Secondly, Mr. Jinnah and others should remember that had it not been for the stand which the much abused British Empire put up alone in Europe, Africa and elsewhere after the fall of France, there would have been no freedom for the Muslim League and the Congress to argue about. The Axis Powers would have seen to that. Mr. Jinnah cannot have forgotten, for example, how Japan handed over

four Muslim States in Malaya to the "peace loving" Siamese.

Nor is it good policy for Mr. Jinnah to talk about the British Government not being able to prevent the Muslims seizing "Pakistan," since seizing implies taking by force. Mr. Jinnah is setting up skittles in order to knock them down. His annoyance with the British Government presumably dates from Lord Linlithgow's "united India" speech at Calcutta a year ago, but the British Government's policy was announced in the Cripps proposals, which embodied the principle of a plebiscite. The War Cabinet has made it clear that the Cripps plan can be amended to suit the parties; if not, the issue can be decided after hostilities cease. It is a pity that the Muslim League President should indulge in heroic gestures. The Muslim League case does not need them. It stands on the inherent justice of its cause, and the knowledge that no political settlement which outrages Muslim sentiment can ever be forced on India by anybody.

Mr. Jinnah is on firmer ground when he refers to the need for a settlement so as to rally the political parties solidly behind the war effort. But it is not fair to say that Lord Wavell has put the political issue into cold storage indefinitely: what Lord Wavell wants, and what the British Government want, is co-operation from all parties on an agreed basis.

What are Mr. Jinnah's minimum terms for co-operation? They ought to be clearly stated. The one positive step taken by the League at Karachi was to appoint a Committee of Action "to prepare and organise the Muslims all over India to meet all contingencies, resist the imposition of an all-India Federation or any other constitution for one united India, and to prepare them for the coming struggle for the achievement of Pakistan." What India badly wants is constructive thinking, and if the Committee of Action will turn its attention to the evolution of a sound and workable constitution for this country it will do a great public service. —Times of India, Bombay.

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Mr. Jinnah's criticism of Government is less moderate now than it used to be. Referring to Lord Wavell's neglect of the present political problem, Mr. Jinnah says: "It is really astonishing that he, representing the Crown and speaking with responsibility and seriousness thinks that he can win this war while he is totally indifferent to the political situation. The British Government have got to get the whole-hearted and enthusiastic support of some party in this country, if not all." Mr. Jinnah is rightly dissatisfied with Lord Wavell's appeal for co-operation from the people without transferring any power to them and asks: "Does it not in plain language mean that, without giv-

ing any part or any real share in the authority of Government, we are asked to do the work of camp followers, menials and subservients? Can you expect any self-respecting organisation to accept that position?" The question then arises what is to replace the present position. Mr. Jinnah understands the outlawing of the Congress. But he says: "What has the rest of India done? We have offered our hand of co-operation for the job of winning the war provided it is accepted as that of a confident friend with a share and authority in the Government and that a definite promise is given that we shall reap our share in the fruit of victory when we win it. That has been rejected." "It is not honest," he adds, that Government should "bracket these organisations together." The idea is clear enough. And the Congress, too, has already made it clear that it does not mind which other parties assume power so long as they get real power even though it continues to be in the wilderness.

By the "share in the fruit of victory" is evidently meant Pakistan. With regard to this demand the Congress has already conceded that no province will be coerced into joining the Federation it proposes and that the acceding provinces will have residuary powers. It is not possible to go farther till the main implications of Pakistan are clarified by the League

and discussed with the accredited leaders of the Congress. But so long as the League refuses to clarify those implications in any detail and declines even to protest against the non-delivery of Gandhiji's letter to Mr. Jinnah, it must, to some extent, share with Government the responsibility for the delay in the next step towards a Congress-League settlement and for all that such delay means. Mr. Jinnah asks Britain to "divide and quit." He does not say: "Quit and let us solve our domestic question between ourselves." He wants the division first and with British help. Well, Britain is helping the division but in such a way as indefinitely to postpone the quitting. Referring to Mr. Churchill's remark that he would not allow the liquidation of the British Empire. Mr. Jinnah rightly observes: "I would say voluntary liquidation is more honourable than a compulsory one. It will redound to the honour of the British nation and it will be recognised by us as an act of friendship which has got its value and price of the future. But compulsory liquidation will have none of those advantages —and the British Empire will have to be liquidated one day." This is profoundly true, but Mr. Jinnah's policy towards those striving for national freedom has not been very helpful towards voluntary or compulsory liquidation. It is true that he vehemently repudiates the charge that the Muslim League is now in-

different to the goal of Indian independence. He calls it a "vicious, wicked" charge against the League. We are glad he feels so strongly on this point. All nationalists would be happy to have the active support of the League in the struggle for 'Indian' independence.—Bombay Chronicle, Bombay.

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The Qaid-e-Azam's speech was in the nature of an unconscious attempt to prove the Churchillian doctrine that Indians were unfit for independence or freedom. History has proved that without Unity we cannot have Swaraj. Any Swaraj without unity would be bound to be a nine days' wonder. We are amongst those who would have unity before Swaraj for reasons already dealt with in detail in the four articles under the caption: "Hopes and Fears." That precisely was the reason why he had always set our face resolutely against the sterile philosophy of "Quit India."

The Qaid-e-Azam continued to maintain that Mahatma Gandhi's programme had been clearly designed to suppress the Muslim League and Indian Muslims. But beyond making this bare and familiar assertion, he did not bother to prove his untenable and strange proposition. Assuming that Mr. Jinnah was right, how would he account for the action of the British Government in arresting and imprisoning Congress leaders? The only man who would per-

haps be in a position to resolve the deadlock in a realistic spirit, in the light of the experience of the last sixteen months, is safely lodged behind iron bars. It was a trifle ungracious and ungenerous to charge him with offences which he could not disprove while he was denied his freedom. Mr. Jinnah was greeted with deafening cheers which lasted more than two minutes from a crowded house when he advised Mr. Churchill to liquidate his Empire voluntarily rather than be compelled to liquidate it at some future date as he would be by force of circumstances. But Mr. Jinnah's speech directly went to strengthen that hold which he was anxious to rent asunder. His "divide and quit" advice to the Britisher did not even evoke any enthusiasm from his hearers.

On the food question, Mr. Jinnah's speech was singularly unconvincing. He attempted to ridicule Viscount Wavell's admirable work at finding a solution, but instead found himself in a quandary and at a loss for words. Did he remember that the deputation of the Muslim Premiers to the Viceroy was at least a fortnight after the ordinance to control the price of consumer goods? It was the last act of Lord Linlithgow and the Ministers waited on Lord Wavell. Mr. Jinnah professed to speak for the agriculturists, and in doing so quietly forgot that there was such an exploited class of people as the consumers. Mr. Jinnah rated

question and leave it to our Muslim brothers to answer it as best as they may, with such political sense as they have developed.

The second question we shall ask Indian Muslims to consider is this : assuming that the British are prepared to concede Pakistan to Indian Muslims, how far is it wise for them to secure it from the British, in face of the opposition of the Hindu majority ? Sooner or later this country must secure its freedom and the securing of freedom will necessarily mean the disappearance of the British authority. Whatever constitution forms we adopt, whether we live under one Central Government or half a dozen independent Governments, having nothing to do with each other, Hindus and Muslims must continue to live side by side in this country, bounded on the north by the Himalayas, in the west by the Arabian Sea and in the east by the Bay of Bengal. And if they have to do so, is it not better that, whatever the differences that divide them, they should do so as friends and good neighbours, and not be in a state of perpetual civil strife? If the latter alternative is ruled out, as it must be, by every sensible man, it must be obvious that friendship and good neighbourliness cannot flourish in the atmosphere of imposed solutions. An enduring solution which will last, long after the last Briton has left our shores, can come only by agreement among the com-

munities and not by the one or the other seeking to impose its own solution with the help of the British. In the first place the British will not do so to satisfy Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Savarkar and even if they do, such a solution will not be worth the paper on which it is written. The Muslims can get Pakistan, if at all, from the Hindus only, and not from the British.

After referring to the fact that the Congress had been outlawed because it resorted to mass civil disobedience, Mr. Jinnah pathetically asked, "What has the rest of India done?" Proceeding he said: "We have offered our hand of co-operation for the job of winning the war, provided it is accepted as that of a confident friend with a share in the authority of the Government and a definite promise is given that we shall reap our share in the fruit of victory when we win it." In other words, the Congress being put out of the way, why does not the British Government join hands with the Muslims to convert the British Raj in India into an Anglo-Muslim Raj?—The Tribune, Lahore.

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REJOINDER TO ABOVE

It is not necessary for a newspaper always to take notice of what its contemporaries say on a particular subject, but Congress propa-

ganda during the last two decades and more has created a false sensitiveness among the Muslims, among others which the party concerned plays upon to create confusion in the minds of the Muslims. The *Tribune* in its issue of last Tuesday, has sought to employ the same strategy against the All-India Muslim League and its President, we propose to examine its arguments in to-days issue, but we think it necessary to warn our readers that we are going to indulge in a bit of plain speaking. Politics has been called a dirty game. Party politics is more often than not certainly dirty; but in corporate life we cannot avoid politics, and an effective way to keep the dirt out of it is to be realists and never to lose sight of hard facts, however unpleasant they might be.

Mr. Jinnah is reported to have said in his presidential address at Karachi: "The Hindus cannot give you Pakistan. The utmost they will do is to withdraw obstruction, with the reasonable chance of Hindus getting their freedom and the Muslims getting theirs. The British Government can give Pakistan because they are in possession and whether they make up their mind or not or they go on camouflaging, evading and making excuses, we will have Pakistan." The *Tribune* thinks this attitude of Qaid-e-Azam, as something immoral and unpatriotic, and in order to play upon the sensitiveness created by Congress

propaganda among the Muslims writes. "Now that the Qaid-e-Azam has said so much in unmistakable terms, we would ask our Muslim brothers to ponder over the implication of their leader's statement. We readily agree that the British Government are in possession of "what does not belong to them." This is closing one's eyes to facts. India belongs to Britain at present. It is her "Property" and is being used as property, including her population. If India does not belong to Britain, to whom else it does? The Hindus lost it a thousand years ago and have since been living as subjects. The Muslims lost it more than a hundred years ago and have since lived on sufferance. The Hindus tried last year to assert their proprietary rights and were quitely put in cold storage, where they remain to this day. Wild talk does not alter facts. Sovereignty belong to those who have the power. The British wanted men for the defence of the Empire, and two million men flocked to the colours and more millions were willing if only there had been room for them, though the "National Congress" said they should not, and the Muslim League said not a word. They wanted Munitions of War, and Hindu Industrialists and contractors, all good patriots and Nationalists, have been busy doing their master's will. Here then is a mighty fact which it is sheer hypocrisy to deny. India is helpless

and can work her salvation only along peaceful paths, by negotiation and goodwill. Hindu India begs freedom from the British. What moral offence has Mr. Jinnah committed when he says that Pakistan may be asked only of the British? He has but stated the plain fact of the situation.

But that is not the whole fact. A people, the Indian Muslims in this instance, is in search of a political status. It is open to it to try to achieve its goal by every possible means available to it, by alliance with the Hindus if that is hopeful, with the British if that promises success, with the very devil if his assistance can help them to their goal, for this is politics, and the path has been pointed to the Muslims by the Hindus themselves. Has not the Hindu Congress made Allies in Britain *to cheat the* Muslims of their legitimate share of their power in the country? If the Congress is justified in seeking allies in Britain, what wrong can be imputed to the Muslim League if it tries to do the same?

Where do the Muslims of India stand? On one side is the Imperial Power which up to fifty years ago was interested in keeping them suppressed and has since then ignored them. On the other side are the Hindus better educated, better organised, enormously wealthy, and in an overwhelming majority in numbers. The Muslims are the weakest party. They have

tried hard to come to terms with the Hindus, but have been spurned every time. The Hindus are racially exclusive. They regard the Muslims as so many untouchables. They insist that the power shall belong to the Hindus alone and that the Muslims must remain content with being a minority and with such crumbs of right and privileges as the majority cares to throw to them. What are the Muslims then to do? Go down on their hands and knees before the blood-sucking *banias*, or seek allies wherever they can find them, and employ whatever methods promise them success? For one thing is certain. Muslims have despaired of the Hindus. The Lahore resolution was an act of final registration of that despair. The resolution was not the result of any sudden impulse on the part of the Muslims. It was the product of profound thought and much calculation on the part of the Muslim India for many years. Has not the fact sunk on the minds of the Hindus yet?

The *Tribune* writes: "Is it not better that, however the differences divide them (i.e., the Hindus and the Muslims), they should live side by side as friends and good neighbours, and not be in a state of perpetual civil strife?... It must be obvious that friendship and good neighbourliness cannot flourish in the atmosphere of imposed solutions." Yet it is just an imposed solution that Hindus have been ask-

ing for since August, 1940. "Give us freedom and we shall solve the communal problem in our own way." That has been the Hindu demand all along while the Muslim League has been ridiculed and scoffed times out of number for asking for an agreed settlement. It is certainly better that Hindus and Muslims should live in friendship and good neighbourliness rather than in constant strife. But can the *Tribune* or any other Hindu "Nationalist" paper tell us what contribution it has made to the establishment of such amity between the communities since the last general election? They have reviled Mr. Jinnah; they have tried to belittle the Muslim League, they have sought to sow disunity and discord among the Muslims; a section of them has even imposed a boycott on Mr. Jinnah and the League. Is that the way to establish friendship and good neighbourliness between the Hindus and the Muslims?

In the meantime, Mr. Jinnah understands the Muslim position better than any other Muslims of India. He knows how to play the game as no other Indian Muslim does. With his clear vision, his matchless skill in piloting their ship, his sincerity of purpose, and his absolute incorruptibility, Muslim India can follow his leadership with the uttermost confidence.

THIRTYFIRST SESSION

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